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A LOMBARD MANUSCRIPT, PARIS B.N. LATIN 757,

ASSOCIATED MANUSCRIPTS

AND THE

CONTEXT OF THEIR ILLUMINATION

one volume and microfilm

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205.	" " " " " "	f.14
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### Summary

The basis of this study is a close examination of the manuscripts which, in their decoration and illustration, form a stylistic group around the Book of Hours/Missal, Paris, B.N. Latin 757. Those painted in the same style are fr.343, Smith-Lesouëf 22, n.a.lat.1673, Latin 8045, all in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and  $\alpha$ s.2.31 (Latin 862) in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena. Two other manuscripts which are less closely related to this central group, Paris, B.N. n.a.fr.5243 and Munich Staatsbibliothek Latin 23215, are also discussed.

Details of the decoration have made possible the identification of the original owner of two of the Books of Hours, Latin 757 and Smith-Lesouëf 22, as Bertrando de' Rossi, conte di San Secondo (c.1346-1396), and of the romance Guiron le Courtois, n.a.fr.5243, as Bernabò Visconti.

Some aspects both of the finished painting and of the distribution of work in the unfinished manuscripts indicate that these books were the product of collaboration between more than one painter. The division of work however, is usually by process and not by unit and the essential characteristics of the style seem to be dependent upon one artist.

Previously the manuscripts in the style of Latin 757 have all been dated to c.1380. Here the sequence in which they were decorated between c.1383 to c.1395 is established.

These books are the earliest group of Lombard manuscripts-de-luxe to have survived. This style seems to have evolved in response to the demand for luxury books from the Milanese court. It is suggested here that the interest in illuminated books of Bernabò Visconti and his court may have been more influential than the later and, as far as it is known, restricted patronage of his nephew Giangaleazzo and that, correspondingly, Milan had ascendancy over Pavia as a centre for book-production at the end of the fourteenth century.

### Introduction

Il fait tresbeau demourer  
En doulz Chastel de Pavie  
Ou l'en seult dames trouver  
Qui mainent joieuse vie  
Car c'est noble compagnie  
Et qui dance volontiers.

A student may be as beguiled by the reputation of the Visconti court as Eustache Deschamps was by the reality but, faced with the loss of most of the works of art, administrative archives and household accounts, most views of Visconti patronage are dependent upon secondary sources. This study considers a group of illuminated manuscripts associated with this court not only as works of art but also as a source of evidence for the wider circumstances of their production and explores the extent to which these books provide their own documentation.

CHAPTER 1LATIN 757: STRUCTURE, CONTENTS AND PATRON

The combined Book of Hours and Missal, Latin 757 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, which is the central focus of this study, was first published by Toesca in 1912. He recognised that it was one of a group of manuscripts which were stylistically closely related and that some of them had been owned by members of the Visconti family.<sup>1</sup> The style of painting was localized to Lombardy and the second half of the fourteenth century. Apart from the recognition that three other manuscripts have illumination in the same style, the published discussion since Toesca has contributed little to clarifying the questions of chronology and patronage of these delightfully and richly decorated books.<sup>2</sup> The picture of the production of the manuscripts remains equally obscure. Latin 757 is the most extensively decorated, most lavish and most complete of the group and shows the style fully evolved and homogeneous.<sup>3</sup> This study will begin with a description and discussion of the structure, contents and organisation of this manuscript, in the hope that this will reveal more information on the manufacture of this book and provide a basis for comparison with the others containing decoration in the same style.

### Alterations and additions to the first state

Like many other fine manuscripts which have been highly valued by owners subsequent to the original patron, Latin 757 has undergone several changes from its first state: the replacement of the coats of arms in the border decoration to declare the identity of a new owner, and the adjustments in the text to fit the book to successive users. By establishing the extent of these alterations we can move towards a picture of the book as it was originally completed. Only the binding is an exception, for the present binding of red leather is of the seventeenth century and nothing within the manuscript offers any indication of the appearance of previous bindings.<sup>4</sup>

The most extensive and obvious alterations are those made for the sixteenth century owners Julien and Anne (or Annet) Regin: the substitution of their arms, azure a pomegranate or crowned or, within the border decoration (eg. ill. 9) and the addition of their armorial bearings, Julien's on f.4 and Anne's on f.9v., to folios which show no signs of any previous decoration.<sup>5</sup> There seem to have been no other alterations to the illustration and decoration of the manuscript and no folios appear to have been cut out.<sup>6</sup> Although every coat of arms of the original owner, except for one overlooked on the inner lower corner of f.383v. (ill. 48), was painted over by the sixteenth century heraldic painter,

he stayed within the contour of the shield of the original arms and none of the less readily identifiable marks of ownership were changed.<sup>7</sup> The decoration was thereby disturbed as little as possible.

Apart from very minor corrections or alterations<sup>8</sup> the additions are confined to elements preceding the devotional texts. These are made obvious by both a change in script and decoration, and a disruption in the earliest foliation of the manuscript. (The foliation referred to throughout this discussion is that in modern arabic numerals on the upper right corner of each recto. The earlier formal numbering was in large, blue roman numerals in the centre of the upper margin of each recto.) Although 'I' has been scratched off, it remains legible on f.4, and all the other numerals are untouched. They are placed as follows 'II' on f.5, 'III' on f.10, and from this point on the blue foliation is continuous and uninterrupted until the last folio, f.450, which is numbered CCCCXLIII.<sup>9</sup> Since Deo Gra(tia)s Am(en) is written in the free space left in the second column, beneath the last line of the Benediction of Vestments on the verso of f.450, it seems likely that it was always the final folio of at least this section of the manuscript.

The folios which were not part of the manuscript at the time of the blue foliation, ff.1-3 and ff.6-9, carry the list of contents and the lunar tables respectively. As the lunar tables, ff.6-8v., figure in the list of contents they must either antedate it



or be contemporary inclusions. The lunar tables cover the years 1395-1400. The arms of Anne Regin were painted on the verso of the blank folio, f.9v., at the end of this inserted binion.<sup>10</sup> The arms of Julien Regin were painted on the blank recto, f.4, of the bifolio which holds the Easter tables, necessitating the erasure of the blue foliation 'I'. The final verso of this bifolio, f.5v., carries a section of the table for computing Easter for the years 1500-1529, which is in a different hand from the section, ff.4v. and 5, for the years 1380-1499 and would seem therefore to have been added to update a still used Book of Hours.<sup>11</sup>

#### Earliest components

Fortunately the alterations are distinguishable from the original elements and have left them intact. It is possible, by discounting these modifications, to reconstruct the structure and contents of the manuscript, which at the time of the blue foliation must have been as follows (the folio numbers are modern).

a bifolio (ff.4-5)

f.4 blank  
ff.4v. and 5 Easter  
Tables 1380-1499  
f.5v. blank

a quaternion (f.10-17)  
and a ternion (ff.18-23)

f.10 blank  
ff.10v.-22 Calendar  
ff.22v. and 23r. and v.  
blanks

eleven quaternions  
(ff.24-111) and  
one bifolio (ff.112-113)

ff.25-56v. Abbreviated  
Hours of the Days  
of the Week  
ff.24, 28, 37, 41, 45,  
49 and 53 full-page  
miniatures  
ff.24v., 28v., 37v.,  
41v., 44v., 45v., 49v.  
and 53v. blanks

f.57 blank  
ff.58-105 Office of the  
Virgin acc. the use of  
Rome<sup>12</sup> with Propers  
ff.57v., 72v., 76, 79,  
82, 85 and 91 full-  
page miniatures  
ff.72, 75v., 76v., 79v.,  
82v., 85v., and 91v.  
blanks  
f.105v. blank  
f.106 'Salve Regina  
misericordie'  
f.106v. blank  
ff.107-109 'O Intemerata...'  
f.109v. full-page  
miniature  
ff.110-112v., Seven  
Joys of the Virgin  
f.113r. and v. blank

one gathering of nine  
folios (ff.114-122) and  
forty-one quaternions  
(ff.123-450)

f.114 blank  
f.114v. full-page  
miniature  
ff.115v.-146v. Office of  
the Dead  
  
f.147 full-page miniature  
f.147v. blank  
ff.148-154v. Seven  
Penitential Psalms  
f.155 full-page miniature  
f.155v. blank  
f.156-161v. Litany  
  
f.162 full-page miniature  
f.162v. blank  
ff.163-185 Office of the  
Passion

ff.186-224 Gospel  
 Extracts on the  
 Passion of Christ  
 ff.185v., 197v., 206v.  
 and 216v. full-page  
 miniatures

f.224v. full-page miniature  
 ff.225-229 Prayers of  
 St. Augustine

ff.230-261v. Masses for  
 Days of the Week  
 ff.229v., 237, 241v.,  
 245v., 250, 254v. and  
 258 full-page miniatures

f.262 blank  
 f.262v. full-page miniature  
 ff.263-276 Ordinary of the  
 Mass acc. the use of Rome  
 f.276v. full-page miniature  
 ff.277-283 Canon of the  
 Mass

ff.284-383 Propers for  
 Masses for the Feasts  
 from the Temporal and  
 Sanctoral arranged acc.  
 Calendar plus six  
 feasts from the Common  
 of Saints. Full-page  
 miniatures on: ff.283v.,  
 286v., 289v., 291v.,  
 293v., 296v., 298v., 299v.,  
 302v., 305v., 309, 312,  
 315, 318, 322, 325, 327v.,  
 329, 331v., 334v., 337v.,  
 340v., 343v., 347, 351v.,  
 355, 357v., 360, 362v.,  
 363v., 364v., 367, 369v.,  
 372, 374v., 377 and 380.

ff.383v.-396v. Office of  
 St. John the Baptist  
 ff.396v.-410v. Office of  
 St. Nicholas  
 ff.410v.-424v. Office of  
 St. Anthony  
 ff.424v.-434v. Office of  
 St. Catherine of  
 Alexandria

ff.434v.-436v. 'Obsecro  
te...'  
ff.436v.-439 Prayer on  
the Seven Last Words  
attributed to Bede  
f.439v. full-page  
miniature  
ff.440-450v. Exorcisms,  
Baptisms and  
Benedictions

On the folios where the pigment overlaps, for example ff.114, 255 and 364, it is clear that the blue foliation was painted after the miniatures and borders. It is possible, therefore, that these roman numerals were a later addition, perhaps contemporary with the contents list, and need not necessarily reflect the ordering intended at the time of writing. This intended order could have been shown by signature marks<sup>13</sup> made on the lower right corner of the first four rectos of each quaternion. Unfortunately, although traces of such marks remain on several folios of Latin 757, for example f.259, they have always been either erased or cut and are not legible.

#### Writing and text

Other evidence within the book allows us to work out some of the intentions for the book at the time of writing. Signature marks often referred to a folio's place in an entire manuscript and were likely, therefore, to have been ascribed when the ordering of texts was completed. Catchwords, the

first word of the next gathering written in the bottom margin of the last verso of a gathering, were customarily written by the scribe to relate one gathering to those on either side in a continuous section of his work. The catchwords in 757, in conjunction with the disruption of the composition of regular quaternions, show distinct breaks where the devotional components were divided into groups for the task of writing the manuscript<sup>14</sup>.

The Easter table and the Calendar required special rulings and were therefore more conveniently treated separately.<sup>15</sup> They form distinct gatherings, the Easter table on a bifolio, ff.4 and 5, of which the sides 4 and 5v. were originally left blank, and the Calendar on two gatherings, one quaternion, ff.10-17, of which the side 10r. is blank, and one ternion, ff.18-23, of which sides 22v., 23 and 23v. were left blank. With a single exception all the other folios of the manuscript were uniformly ruled for text on recto and verso. The catchwords on the final side of each gathering from ff.24-111 (ff.31v., 39v., 47v., 55v., 63v., 71v., 79v., 87v., 95v., 103v., 111v.,)<sup>16</sup> suggest that this section of the manuscript was written sequentially as one unit, distinct from the rest of the book. This interpretation is supported by the use of a bifolio, ff.112 and 113, to complete the Seven Joys of the Virgin. One leaf of this

bifolio, f.113, is blank on both recto and verso and has no catchword.

This gap is the most obvious point of disruption in the manuscript. It is followed by the Office of the Dead which starts on f.115v. Although this is the second folio of a gathering of nine folios, the first folio, f.114, with the miniature of the Burial to introduce the Office of the Dead, is a single folio, sewn with four bifolios, with a stub between folios 122 and 123. Folio 114 (ill. 16) is the only unruled folio in the manuscript and appears to have been inserted by the illuminators. The scribe presumably started writing the Office of the Dead on f.115v. to leave the recto free for a full-page miniature.<sup>17</sup>

Whilst it seems clear from the composition, the catchwords and the regularity of the script that ff.24-113 comprise the continuous work of one scribe, the evidence for the rest of the manuscript is more ambiguous. After gathering ff.114-122 there are forty-one regular quaternions and the only blanks are those of ff.147v., 155v., 162v. and 262, all on the other side of a full-page miniature. There is, therefore, no obvious indication of a disruption in the composition to point to a division into separate units.

The script of the entire manuscript is a littera formata of a regularity which confounds a certain

division into hands beyond the observation that the work in the second part of the book gives an overall impression of being less consistent and, from folio to folio, less uniform in spacing (compare ill. 2 and 9 with ill. 27 and 49).<sup>18</sup> The only obvious disjunction in the script is seen in comparing f.115v. with the preceding folios; the script from f.115v. on is larger and appears less regular in formation and spacing. In addition, the scheme followed in allowing for decoration throughout the rest of the manuscript is not adhered to on ff.115v.-135v. Elsewhere the scribe allowed space within the text justification for painted one-line initials for capital letters, painted two-line initials at the beginning of each prayer, lesson or hymn, and decorated or historiated five-line initials at the opening of each devotion (ill. 4). Whilst generally conforming to this, the scribe of ff.115v.-135v. left no space for painted one-line-high initials when these fell at the beginning of a line of text. Consequently they have been painted in the margins and conflict with the sprays coming from two-line initials. This must be an error and one that was noticed by f.138 because from ff.138v.-450v., as from ff.24-112v., all painted one-line initials are within the text justification. It is also a departure from the customary lay-out that the Office of the Dead should open on a verso. The simplest explanation for

all these variations is that these folios were the first work carried out by this scribe for this manuscript, whether he was responsible for only a few gatherings, the entire manuscript, or any proportion in between.

Although the composition of the second part of the manuscript is consistent with the forty-two gatherings' being the continuous work of one scribe, there are seven instances where the last verso of a gathering carries no catchword, ff.146v., 154v., 162v., 242v., 250v., 345v. and 362v. This could indicate a division in the labour. Only in one case, however, does the end of the gathering coincide with the end of a major text; on f.146v. at the end of the Office of the Dead.<sup>19</sup> All the others, apart from f.242v. which is in the middle of the lesson for the Mass of the Holy Ghost for a Tuesday, coincide with the end of a minor text but seem somewhat arbitrary points at which to divide the labour:

f.154v. is between the text of the Seven Penitential Psalms and the text of the Litany;

f.162v., in the gathering carrying the Litany, is the blank verso between the miniature introducing the following Office of the Passion and the Office itself;

f.250v. after the text of the Mass of All Souls for a Wednesday, carries the miniature introducing the text for the Mass of the Sacrament for a Thursday in the Masses for the Days of the Week;

f.354v. at the end of the text of the Feast of the Birth of the Virgin, and



f.362v. between the text for the Feast of the Stigmatisation and the text for the Feast of St. Catherine are both in the Variants for the Mass.

Furthermore, some explanation can perhaps be offered for the absence of some of these catchwords. F.162v. is a blank and ff.250v. and 362v. carry full-page miniatures. The only instance in the manuscript of a page without text carrying a catchword is f.79v. Here the catchword is not formally written and it appears that it was intended to be cut or erased (see n.16). This could have happened with ff.162v., 250v., and 362v. A division of text at these points is improbable for a further reason: when writing the next gathering the scribe took into account the completed state of these folios and, relying on these to receive the full-page miniatures, opened the new texts on the first recto of the following gathering. Folios 146v., 154v. and 354v. are all followed by gatherings, the first recto of which bears a full-page miniature. Although there are other instances, ff.71v., 314v. and 346v., where such versos bear as a catchword the first word of text on the next text-bearing side, this may not have been regarded as strictly necessary. In Smith-Lesouëf 22 of the B.N., another manuscript illuminated by the painters of Latin 757 for the same patron, there are no catchwords on those final versos of a gathering, which are either blank, carry a full-page miniature or are immediately followed by full-page miniatures.

The only instance in Latin 757 where there is no such reason to account for the lack of a catchword is on f.242v. The Mass of the Holy Spirit for a Tuesday starts on f.242 and continues to f.245. Although there is no catchword in the bottom margin of f.242v. the last words of the page, 'verbo domini', are partially repeated as the first words of the next gathering,, 'bo domini', on f.243. This would be a perverse, and totally impracticable, place at which to divide the text between different scribes and, faced with no clear change in script, it seems more likely to be the slip of a scribe who is elsewhere less consistent in his practice than the the scribe responsible for ff.24-113.

On balance, therefore, it seems probable that Latin 757 was written by two scribes: one responsible for ff.24-113 and another for ff.115-450, although it is conceivable that there is some less than obvious subdivision of work within this second section.

#### Painting and illustration

Whatever the number of scribes at work on this manuscript, the extent of the illustration and some elements of the decoration were determined by their work: all the full-page miniatures, five-line decorated or historiated initials at the opening of each devotion, the two-line foliate initials for each

text element and the one-line painted capitals within the text were planned by the scribe or scribes who left appropriate spaces within the text to receive them (with the exception noted above of one-line capitals at the beginning of a line on ff.115v.-135v.).

There is no overall, consistent scheme for the allocation of folios for illustration with full-page miniatures. Up to folio 230, the beginning of the Masses for the Days of the Week, and from f.262 to f.283, the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass, any text to be illustrated with a full-page miniature begins on the recto of a new folio and the verso of the preceding folio is left blank.<sup>20</sup> In many cases, because the text finishes on a verso, this involved leaving both sides of a folio blank.<sup>21</sup> The scribe's reason for this must have been that he intended the miniature to be placed on the verso facing the text opening, itself embellished with a five-line decorated or historiated initial and full-page border, making an impressive double-spread to mark the beginning of each new devotion. There is a departure from this scheme for both the Masses of the Days of the Week, ff.229v.-261v., and the Masses from the Temporal and Sanctoral and Common of the Saints, ff.283v.-383. Here the text and miniatures follow without blanks. The scribe left only one side for a miniature, irrespective of whether it was a

verso or recto, consequently several miniatures do not and could not have been intended to face the text which they illustrate. From f.383v. to the end the scribe made allowance for only one full-page miniature, the Baptism of Christ on f.439v., to introduce the Exorcisms and Benedictions which are the final components in the manuscript. The Offices of St. John the Baptist, ff.383v.-396v., St. Nicholas, ff.396v.-410v., St. Anthony, ff.410v.-424v., and St. Catherine, ff.424v.-434v., are all written as continuous text; the only spaces left by the scribe were for five-line initials at the beginning of each canonical hour. The lay-out for the Abbreviated Hours for the Days of the Week, ff.24-56v., was similar and the divisions come so frequently that almost every folio has a full-page border springing from a decorated or historiated initial. But, in addition, the Office for each day is preceded by a Creation miniature, each with an exquisitely painted cosmos against a disc of burnished gold; they combine with the profusion of full-page borders to make the first section the most opulent part of the book.

Although the decorative and illustrative content of the manuscript was determined by the layout of the text and this scheme was generally followed, there can have been no close collaboration between whoever wrote the book and whoever painted it for, if it was the scribe's intention, as suggested above, that the

miniature introducing a new devotion should face the text opening, this format was not followed when the miniatures were drawn. Of the eighteen places where both sides of a folio were left blank to ensure such a conjunction only three were placed according to the scribe's apparent intention.<sup>21</sup> In the other cases the miniature introducing the major devotions faces the tail end of the preceding text whilst the opening of the devotion itself faces a blank.

Although the decorative impact is greater on those double spreads whose miniature and text opening face one another, it may be worth considering whether the placement of miniatures on rectos was entirely haphazard or the result of a preference to paint on the right hand side of a bifolio. There is no obvious reason to account for such a preference.<sup>22</sup>

Apart from this frequent shift of a miniature from its anticipated position, the illuminator conformed to the scheme of decoration and illustration determined at the time of writing the manuscript.<sup>23</sup> Within the text there are innumerable capital letters of burnished gold against a ground of blue and dark pink, one-line high. There are no paragraph marks or line endings. Each element of a devotion, prayer, psalm or lesson etc. starts with a two-line-high initial of foliate forms, of pink, blue and orange-red, against a cusped ground of burnished gold, which extend as sprays into the margins. The five-line painted or historiated initials which open each major section of text and

from which spring full-page borders are of two types. One is made up of the same forms as the two-line initials and one is composed of leaves of pink, blue, red and green, which are more acanthus-like. There may be figural inclusions or the arms or emblems of the owner in both border types (ills. 4 and 9). There are full-page borders on 136 folios. Eighty-four of the initials have foliage sprays as infill decoration, fifty have figural elements and twelve contain emblems of the first owner. Seventy-two full-page miniatures illustrate the texts as follows.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.24 Creation of Light	ff.25-27v. Short Hours of Trinity for Sunday
f.28 Creation of Heaven	ff.29-36v. Short Hours of Dead for Monday
f.37 Separation of Earth and Water and Creation of Vegetation	ff.38-40 Short Hours of Holy Ghost for Tuesday
f.41 Creation of Sun, Moon and Stars	ff.42-44 Short Hours of All Saints for Wednesday
f.45 Creation of Birds and Fishes	ff.46-48v. Short Hours of Sacrament for Thursday
f.49 Creation of Eve	ff.50-52v. Short Hours of Holy Cross for Friday
f.53 God blessing, Creation completed	ff.54-56v. Short Hours of Virgin for Saturday

Full-page borders and five-line initials open each canonical hour within this section on ff.25, 25v., 26,

26v., 27, 29, 30v., 34v., 36v., 38, 38v., 39, 39v.,  
40, 42, 42v., 43, 43v., 44, 46, 46v., 47, 48, 50, 47v.,  
50v., 51, 51v., 52, 54, 54v., 55, 55v. and 56.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.57v. Betrayal of Christ	ff.58-64v. Matins of Office of the Virgin
f.72v. Christ before Pilate	ff.73-75v. Prime of Office of the Virgin
f.76 Christ carrying the Cross	ff.77-78v. Tierce of Office of the Virgin
f.79 Nailing to the Cross	ff.80-81v. Sext of Office of the Virgin
f.82 Crucifixion	ff.83-84v. None of Office of the Virgin
f.85 Lamentation	ff.86-90v. Vespers of Office of the Virgin
f.91 Laying in Tomb	ff.92-94 Compline of Office of the Virgin
	ff.94-109 Propers for Office of the Virgin

Full-page borders and five-line initials for each folio  
where one of the canonical hours opens: ff.58, 64v.,  
73, 77, 80, 83, 86 and 92.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.109v. Patron kneeling before Virgin and Child	ff.110-112v. Seven Joys of the Virgin
f.114v. Burial of a bishop saint	ff.115v.-121v. Vespers of Office of Dead
	ff.121v.-146v. Matins of Office of Dead

Full-page borders and five-line initials on ff.115v.  
and 121v.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.147 David and the Ark of the Covenant	ff.148-154v. Seven Penitential Psalms
f.155 St. Gregory and the Grand Litany	ff.156-161v. Litany
f.162 Judgement	ff.163-184 Hours of the Passion

Full-page borders and five-line initials introduce the canonical hours (not Lauds) on ff.163, 171, 173, 174v., 176v., 178v. and 181v. and also ff.148 and 184.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.185v. St. Matthew	ff.186-197 Passion according to St. Matthew
f.197v. St. Mark	ff.198-206 Passion according to St. Mark
f.206v. St. Luke	ff.207-216 Passion according to St. Luke
f.216v. St. John	ff.217-224 Passion according to St. John

Full-page borders and five-line initials are on ff.186, 198, 207 and 217.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.224v. St. Ambrose baptising St. Augustine	ff.225-229 Prayers of St. Augustine

Full-page border and five-line initial on f.225.



<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.229v. Trinity	ff.230-236v. Mass of Trinity for Sunday
f.237 Man of Sorrows with the Instruments of the Passion	ff.237v.-241 Mass of Dead for Monday
f.241v. Dove of the Holy Spirit	ff.242-245 Mass of Holy Spirit for Tuesday
f.245v. Coronation of the Virgin	ff.246-250 Mass of All Saints for Wednesday
f.250v. Last Supper	ff.251-254 Mass of Sacrament for Thursday
f.254v. Flagellation of Christ	ff.255-257v. Mass of Holy Cross on Friday
f.258 Madonna della Misericordia	ff.258v.-261v. Mass of the Virgin for Saturday

Full-page borders and five-line initials are on ff.230,  
237v., 242, 246, 251, 255 and 258v.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
f.262v. Elevation of the Host	ff.263-276 Ordinary of the Mass
f.267v. Christ on the Cross between the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist	ff.277-283 Canon of the Mass

Full-page border and five-line initial on f. 277

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
	<u>Masses for the Feasts of:-</u>
f.283v. Nativity	ff.284-286 Nativity
f.286v. Stoning of St. Stephen	ff.287-289 St. Stephen
f.289v. St. John drinking poison	ff.290-291 St. John the Evangelist
f.291v. Circumcision	ff.292-293 Octava domini
f.293v. Adoration of the Magi	ff.294-296 Epiphany
f.296v. Temptation of St. Anthony	ff.297-297v. St. Anthony Abbot
f.298 Martyrdom of St. Agnes	ff.298v.-299 St. Agnes
f.299v. Presentation in the Temple	ff.300-302 Purification of Virgin
f.302v. Annunciation	ff.303-305 Annunciation
f.305v. Temptation of Christ	ff.306-308v. 1st Sunday in Lent
f.309 Transfiguration	ff.309v.-311v. 2nd Sunday in Lent
f.312 Casting out of devils	ff.312v.-315 3rd Sunday in Lent
f.315v. Feeding of the 5,000	ff.316-318 4th Sunday in Lent
f.318v. Raising of Lazarus	ff.319-321v. Passion Sunday
f.322 Entry into Jerusalem	ff.322v.-324v. Palm Sunday
f.325 Resurrection	ff.325v.-327 Easter Sunday
f.327v. St. George and the Dragon	ff.328-328v. St. George
f.329 Elevation of the Host	ff.329v.-331 Sts. Philip and James
f.331v. Ascension	ff.332-334 Ascension
f.334v. Pentecost	ff.335-337 Pentecost

MiniatureTextMasses for the Feasts of:-

f.337v. Birth of St. John the Baptist	ff.338-340 Birth of John the Baptist
f.340v. Fall of Simon Magus	ff.341-343 Sts. Peter and Paul
f.343v. Magdalene receiving the Host	ff.344-346v. Mary Magdalene
f.347 Martyrdom of St. Lawrence	ff.347v.-348v. St. Lawrence
f.349 Assumption	ff.349v.-351 Assumption of the Virgin
f.351v. Birth of the Virgin	ff.352-354v. Birth of the Virgin
f.344 The Invention of the Cross	ff.355v.-357 Exaltation of the Cross
f.357v. St. Michael and the Devil	ff.358-360 Dedication of St. Michael
f.360v. Stigmatisation of St. Francis	ff.361-362 St. Francis
f.362v. Attempted martyrdom of St. Catherine	f.363 St. Catherine
f.363v. St. Nicholas giving gold	f.364 St. Nicholas
f.364v. Doubting Thomas	ff.365-366v. St. Thomas
f.367 Calling of St. Peter	ff.367v.369 Feast of an apostle
f.369v. Martyrdom of a Saint	ff.370-371v. Feast of a martyr saint
f.372 Beheading of several Saints	ff.372v.-374 Feast of several martyrs
f.374v. Enthroned bishop saint	ff.375-376v. Feast of a confessor bishop
f.377 St. Jerome	ff.377v.-379v. Feast of a confessor not a bishop

MiniatureTextMasses for the Feasts of:-

f.380 St. Ursula and  
her virgins

ff.380v.-383 Feast of a  
virgin

Full-page borders and five-line initials introduce each Mass on ff.284, 287, 290, 292, 294, 297, 298v., 300, 303, 306, 309v., 312v., 316, 319, 322v., 325v., 328, 329v., 332, 335, 338, 341, 344, 347v., 349v., 352, 355v., 358, 361, 363, 364, 365, 367v., 370, 372v., 375, 377v, and 380v.

MiniatureText

ff.383v.-396v. Office of  
St. John the Baptist

ff.396v.-410v. Office of  
St. Nicholas

ff.410v.-424v. Office of  
St. Anthony Abbot

ff.424v.-434v. Office of  
St. Catherine

Full-page borders and five-line initials introduce each canonical hour on ff.383v., 386v., 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396v., 401v., 403, 404, 405v., 406v., 407v., 409, 410v., 415, 417, 418, 419v., 420v., 421v., 423, 424v., 427, 428v., 429, 430, 431, 432 and 433v.

<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Text</u>
	ff.434v.-436v. 'Obsecro te...'
	ff.436v.-439 Bede's prayer on the Seven Last Words
f.439v. Baptism of Christ	ff.440-441 Exorcism of Salt
	ff.441-442 Exorcism of Water
	ff.442-447 'Ordo ad catecuminum faciendum'
	ff.447-447v. 'Ordo ad incidendum capillum infantium'
	ff.447v.-450v. Benedictions

This extensive illustrative and decorative cycle makes Latin 757 into one of the most lavish of the devotional manuscripts-de-luxe produced in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The series of seventy-two full-page miniatures almost equals the number intended for the Très Riches Heures of Jean Duc de Berry. It exceeds by six the number of surviving miniatures which were painted in the three campaigns of the de Limbourgs, the October painter and Jean Colombe.

On the whole the individual textual components of this manuscript are not innovative or unusual in themselves, but it is relatively uncommon for texts customary in a Book of Hours to be combined with extracts from the Missal.<sup>24</sup> It seems likely that

such a book would have been intended for the personal use of the patron in his private chapel.<sup>25</sup> By ordering the Masses according to the Calendar, this book would have been convenient as well as splendid to use.

### The first owner

Whilst the text, at least as it survives makes reference to the man for whom it was compiled only obliquely in the choice of components,<sup>26</sup> the decoration and illustration are much more explicit. The first owner had himself portrayed kneeling before the Virgin and Child in the devotional miniature on f.109v. (ill. 15), and his arms and emblems were used in the decoration of the manuscript, both in the borders (ill. 49) and the diapered and chequered grounds of some of the miniatures (ill. 42). The marks of ownership most frequently used as decorative motifs are the two emblems held aloft by the young lady who stands on the border of f.364 (ill. 45). These can be variously read: one as two interlocked rings or a stylized S and the other as a stylized monogram, either BE (or EB), SB, FB or A. These remain cryptic. The coat of arms of the original owner made fewer appearances, only ten borders contain arms in contrast to fifty-two with emblems, and the arms were subsequently overpainted.<sup>27</sup> The one folio where the original arms were overlooked by the sixteenth-century heraldic painter, f.383v. (ill. 48), shows a blazon too common to provide

evidence on its own to identify the patron, azure a lion rampant argent. On folio 58 (ill. 9), however, the five-line initial D introducing Matins of the Office of the Virgin, was originally decorated with the arms, crested helmet and monogram of the first owner and, although the shield now has the sixteenth-century owner's arms, azure a pomegranate or crowned or, the helmet with a swan's neck crest and the monogram BE are unaltered. This crested helmet combined with the arms on f.383v. forms the achievement of arms shown in Litta's Celebri Famiglie Italiane as that of the de' Rossi di Parma. One member of that family, living during the second half of the fourteenth century, has a name which accords with the monogram BE on ff.58 and 115v. of Latin 757, Bertrando de' Rossi, Conte di San Secondo, (c.1346-96).<sup>28</sup>

There is a slight variation in the crest shown by Litta, drawn from an unidentified relief, from that on f.58 of Latin 757 in the crown of the swan. The tomb slab of Pietro de' Rossi († 1438), son of Bertrando, however, survives on the façade of S. Antonio Abbate in Parma and his achievement is exactly like that reconstructed by combining the crested helmet of f.58 with the arms of f.383v. of Latin 757, but with a monogram PE instead of BE.

This Bertrando de' Rossi was all his life attached to the Visconti court. His father had fled from Parma to Milan, after taking part in the unsuccessful

rebellion against Obizzo d'Este in 1345 and had died shortly afterwards; Bertrando was his posthumous son.<sup>29</sup> Bertrando served Bernabò Visconti and his sons until 1385 and his embassies included one to Cyprus.<sup>30</sup>

In 1385 when Giangaleazzo overthrew and imprisoned his uncle, Bertrando de' Rossi was one of several knights to switch his allegiance to the new lord and sole ruler of Milan and its dominions.<sup>31</sup> One of the wealthiest lords of Lombardy in his own right, he was one of the counsellors named as executor in the testament of 1388, which Giangaleazzo made after the birth of his son Gianmaria. He undertook further embassies including travelling with Nicolo Spinelli and Andriolo d'Arese to Paris in 1394 to negotiate the formation of a league with Charles VI against Florence and her allies.<sup>32</sup> Recalling this attempt Bernardino Corio described Bertrando as 'primario consigliere' of Giangaleazzo. Bertrando's epitaph, recorded by Carrari,<sup>33</sup> also refers to a journey to Germany 'haec canit orbis, Cypricus & Gallus, vidit sua facta Alemana'. Bertrando remained in Giangaleazzo's service until his death in Pavia on 5 November 1396. Five days later his body was carried to Parma, where he was interred in S. Francesco del Prato.<sup>34</sup>

One detail of the portrait of the patron on f.109v. (ill. 15) of Latin 757 confirms the identification with Bertrando, the only member of the de' Rossi family



who was a prominent member of Giangaleazzo's court and Council.<sup>35</sup> The patron shown kneeling before the Virgin and Child wears a large jewel at his neck in the shape of a rayed sun or star. This was a personal emblem of Giangaleazzo and it appears in exactly the same form as this painted jewel, gold with a blue centre, in the border decorations of his own Book of Hours and Psalter, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 397, for example on ff.76, 104 and 136. A rayed sun or star features in the tracery of the rose window behind the choir of Milan cathedral. The contemporary discussions about this window make it clear that this emblem was particularly identified with Giangaleazzo.<sup>36</sup>

That this device is worn by someone other than Giangaleazzo suggests that it served as a badge of office. There is evidence in another manuscript for this view. The Coronation Missal of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare di S. Ambrogio, ms.6, opens on f.8 with a miniature and an historiated initial showing scenes from the coronation ceremony on 5 September 1395 (ill. 178). In both, a prominent part is played by a man bearing a ceremonial sword; he wears a red robe patterned with golden rayed suns. In the initial introducing the Coronation Mass on f.176 the same man kneels directly behind Giangaleazzo beneath the mantle of the Madonna della Misericordia (Toesca, La pittura... 1966, fig. 274).<sup>37</sup>

Since the jewel worn by Bertrando shows that he was in the service of Giangaleazzo Visconti it seems likely that the manuscript was painted after May 1385.

In this chapter this manuscript has been discussed in isolation and the internal evidence used to show the nature of a book made for Bertrando de' Rossi, a member of the court of Giangaleazzo Visconti, after May 1385.<sup>38</sup> In subsequent chapters the observations made here will be discussed in conjunction with other related manuscripts, in order both to refine and augment the conclusions drawn here and to gain a wider view on more general questions, for example, of workshop practice and patronage.

## Notes to Chapter 1

1. P. Toesca, La pittura e la miniatura nella Lombardia dai piu antichi monumenti alla meta del Quattrocento, (Turin 1966), (reprint of the Milan, 1912 edition), pp.129-35, 155-56 and 159-63. Toesca grouped together, as the work of one illuminator, Paris B.N. Latin 757, the so-called Lancelot du lac B.N. fr.343 and some folios of the Tacuinum Sanitatis B.N. n.a. lat. 1673. The Paris Hours he dated to 'probabilmente intorno all' anno 1380' and the Lancelot to the last years of the fourteenth century. Two other manuscripts were recognised as being closely related to these but not the work of the same hand: the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Latin 23215, which Toesca dated to between 1350 and 1378 and accepted as the work of Giovanni di Benedetto da Como and the Guiron le Courtois, B.N. n.a. fr.5243, which he described as the work of a more gifted illuminator at the end of the century. Subsequently Toesca published the Book of Hours in Modena, Biblioteca Estense  $\infty$  S.2.31 (Latin 862), as a work of Giovanni di Benedetto da Como of around 1383, P. Toesca, Monumenti e studi per la storia della miniatura italiana: La collezione di Ulrico Hoepli, (Milan, 1930) p.36

2. The three other manuscripts to have been added to Toesca's group are Alfodhol, Liber iudicorum, B.N. Latin 7323 and Lucan, De Bello Civili, B.N. Latin 8045, A. Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde intorno al 1380', Bollettino d'Arte, 50 (1965), pp.67-72, and the Book of Hours, B.N. Smith-Lesouëf 22, L. Cogliati Arano, 'Due libri d'ore Lombardi eseguiti verso il 1380', Arte Lombarda, 15 (1970), pp.37-44. Apart from these findings the manuscripts have been discussed in several articles without significantly adding to the information and understanding provided by Toesca: E. Arslan, 'Riflessioni sulla pittura gotica "internazionale" in Lombardia nel tardo Trecento', Arte Lombarda, 8 (1963), pp.25-66; E. Arslan, 'Aspetti della pittura lombarda nella seconda metà del Trecento', Critica d'Arte (1964), no.61, pp.33-45 and no.64, pp.44-54; J. Treuherz, 'The border decoration of Milanese manuscripts 1350-1420', Arte Lombarda, 17 (1972), pp.71-82, plates pp.50-55; M. Salmi, 'La pittura e la miniatura gotica in Lombardia', Storia di Milano (Milan, 1955), IV, pp.544-564; V, pp.815-874.
  
3. Until the publication of the forthcoming catalogue of Italian manuscripts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the Bibliothèque Nationale, compiled by M. François Avril, for the most complete description of this manuscript see: V. Leroquais,

Les Sacramentaires et Missels manuscrits des  
Bibliothèque de France, 4 Vols. (Paris, 1924),  
 II, pp.361-63, plates LXIX-LXXV; V. Leroquais,  
Les Livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque  
Nationale, 3 vols. (Paris, 1927), I, pp.6-7,  
 plates VII-XIII.

Entries on the manuscript are also included in  
 the following: Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli  
Sforza (Milan, 1958), catalogue of the exhibition  
 held in the Palazzo Reale in Milan, pp.29-30;  
 G.dell'Acqua, Arte Lombarda dai Visconti agli  
Sforza (Milan, 1959), pp.47-48; M.L. Gengaro,  
 L. Cogliati Arano, Miniature Lombarde codici  
miniati dall'VIII al XIV secolo (Milan, 1970),  
 pp.411-12; Dix siècles d'enluminure italienne  
 (Paris, 1984), catalogue of the exhibition held  
 in the Bibliothèque Nationale. In his entry on  
 Latin 757 François Avril cites my own notice 'The  
 original patron of the Lombard Manuscript Latin 757  
 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris', Burlington  
Magazine, 124 (1982), pp.88-94 (an offprint of this  
 article is bound here as an appendix).

4. Latin 757 is added, in his own hand, to the  
 catalogue Nicolas Clément compiled of the French  
 royal library in 1682. It presumably entered the  
 collection between that year and 1717, the year of  
 Clément's death. The binding has no royal monogram  
 and was therefore probably put on before going into  
 the royal library.

5. On f.4 the coat of arms is accompanied by the mottoes Utrique vite and In manibus tuis sortes me and on f.9 by Verbum Domini Manet in eternum and a precentor's baton and an ecclesiastical hat. There are erasures around the baton. On f.4 a cartouche holds the name Julien Regin and on f.9v. Anne Regin. Annet Regin (d.1556) was protonotary apostolic and precentor of the cathedral at Clermont from 1528: M. Huglo, 'Un missel d'Annet Regin', Bulletin historique et scientifique de l'Auvergne, 83 (1964), pp.27-32.
6. The bottom edge of f.450 has been cut off and repaired. It is possible that it once held a colophon or some identification of the original owner and was, for that reason, removed.
7. The pronoun 'he' will be used throughout this study to refer to anonymous persons of unknown sex.
8. Interestingly, on f.225 in the prayer rubricated 'oratio sancti Augustini' - 'Dulcissime yesu xpe domine ver' deus...', there are alterations to give the feminine forms also, although 'O Intemerata' and 'Obsecro te...', the most usual prayers to reflect the sex of a book's user remain in the masculine form.
9. There are occasional mistakes in the sequence of numbering: f.43 is foliated XXXVI as also is f.44, but this is corrected by f.45 which is numbered

XXXVIII. In the same way f.407 is CCCC and also f.408 but f.409 is correctly CCCCI; f.420 is CCCCXIII as is f.421 but f.422 is CCCCXV. There are marks in the right-hand upper corner of some folios, for example f.121, which have escaped cutting, these correspond to the blue roman numerals and must have been the exempla that the painter followed.

10. It seems probable that these tables, each page devoted to a single year, indicate the date of their inclusion in the manuscript. This binion is now bound in with the central fold bent over, making these folios slightly inset. The contents list, ff.1-3, appears to be a gathering made up of f.1 and its stub between ff.3 and 4, and a bifolio, 2 and 3.
11. For a more formal break-down of the structure and contents of this manuscript see the catalogue entry.
12. The Office of the Virgin is rubricated on f.58  
 'Incipit Off(itiu)m b(ea)te virginis marie  
 s(ecundu)m (con)suetudine(m) sancte romane  
 ecc(lesi)e & s(ecundu)m ordine(m) fratrum minor(um)'  
 and conforms with the tests for the use of Rome  
 given by Leroquais, Les Livres d'heures...1927, I,  
 p.xxxviii and F. Madan, 'Hours of the Virgin Mary,  
 (Tests for Localisation)', Bodleian Quarterly Record,  
 III,no.26 (1920), pp.40-44. The Ordinary of the Mass,

f.263 is rubricated 'Incipit ordo agendor(um) et dicendo(rum) a sacerdote in missa iux(ta) (con)suetudinem romane curie'. The prayers of oblation on ff.265-267v. are those given as indicative of Roman usage by Leroquais, Les sacramentaires... 1924, I, p.xxii.

13. Such marks standardly showed the position of a gathering within a book, by the use of a letter, and of the folio within that gathering, by the use of a numeral; for example, the third folio of the first gathering would be 'aiii'. By reference to these marks any folio displaced between writing and binding a manuscript could be correctly repositioned.
14. I have found the following works useful for their discussion on method in the examination of manuscripts: S. Hindman & J.D. Farquhar, Pen to Press, catalogue of the University of Maryland exhibition in 1977; L.M.J. Delaissé, 'The Importance of Books of Hours for the History of the Medieval Book', Gatherings in Honor of Dorothy E. Miner, (Baltimore, 1974), pp.203-25; L.M.J. Delaissé, 'Towards a History of the Medieval Book', Divinitas, II, 2, (1967), pp.423-35.
15. See the catalogue entry for ruling patterns.
16. Folio 79v. is a blank and the catchword 'ad sextam' is not written in the formal book-hand of the text



but in cursive script in a faint ink at the very bottom of the folio. 'Ad sextam' is the rubric at the top of f.80.

17. See n.23 for the probable reason why the illuminators instead inserted f.114.
18. This script would be classed as littera textualis formata gothica following G.I. Lieftinck, 'Pour une nomenclature de l'écriture livresque de la periode dite gothique', Nomenclature des écritures livresques du IXe au XVIe siècle (Paris, 1953), pp.15-34. This seems unnecessarily cumbersome in the context of these manuscripts and the description of this script, littera formata, given in the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library seems equally informative.

Another feature of the section of the manuscript, ff.24-113, which is consistent within that section but is not found later, is the framing of each catchword with four small flourishes of the pen. Occasionally later catchwords have less controlled and narrower pen strokes.

19. The Seven Penitential Psalms and the Litany are each contained within a single gathering: ff.147-154 with the full-page miniature to introduce the Psalms on f.147, f.147v. is a blank and the text runs from ff.148-154v.; ff.155-162 has a full-page miniature of the Great Litany of St. Gregory on

f.155, f.155v. is blank and the text of the Litany is on ff.156-161v. The Judgement miniature, preceding the Office of the Passion is on f.162 and f.162v. is blank. That this folio was known to be available for a miniature by the scribe of the next gathering, who started writing the Office of the Passion on the first recto, f.163, suggests that there was no division between different scribes at this point.

There would seem to have been no possibility of ordering the text elements differently, other than that the Penitential Psalms and the Litany could have preceded the Office of the Dead.

Although this was the more usual order in French manuscripts both the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich, Staatsbibliothek ms.23215 and Smith-Lesouëf 22 of the Bibliothèque Nationale, two of the Books of Hours which will be shown to be most closely related to this manuscript, contain the Office of the Dead, the Seven Penitential Psalms and the Litany in the same order and within a demonstrably continuous section of text. In three other Lombard Books of Hours, Modena, Biblioteca Estense Latin 862 and Latin 842 and Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms.56, the Penitential Psalms and Litany appear as one element and separated from the Office of the Dead.

20. The only exception to this is the Office of the Dead, ff.115v.-146v., which opens on a verso. As noted above there are other aberrations on these folios.
21. Both sides of folios 24, 28, 37, 41, 45, 49, 53, 57, 72, 76, 79, 82, 85, 91, 147, 155, 162 and 262 were left blank, but the miniatures were painted on the verso of only ff.57, 72 and 262.
22. The illuminators seem to have had no preference for painting on the hair or flesh side of the parchment. In those instances where both sides of a folio were available for the miniature, ten (ff.37, 41, 45, 49, 53, 72v., 79, 85, 91 and 162) were painted on the hair side and eight (ff.24, 28, 57v., 76, 82, 114v., 147 and 155) were painted on the flesh side. Neither can a consistent reason for placing a miniature on recto or verso be found in the position of the blanks within a gathering.

In the one case where the scribe appeared to envisage a major devotion, the Office of the Dead, f.115v., immediately preceded by a miniature on a recto (see n.20), the illuminators have not used the blank recto allowed by the scribe but have inserted another folio. The reason for this would appear to be that f.115 is relatively thin and the extensive rubric on the verso very obviously shows through on the recto, making it

unsuitable for painting. That the illuminators added a folio to this gathering rather than using the blank folio, f.113, at the end of the previous section of text suggest that ff.24-113, shown above to be a continuous block of text, was still being treated as a discrete unit at the time of illumination. The distribution of the contents of Latin 757 and the impossibility of drastically re-ordering them makes it extremely unlikely that these sections could ever have been intended to have been separately bound.

23. Within the Propers for the Office of the Virgin the scribe started a new folio for both the antiphon 'Salve regina misericordie vite...' f.106, and 'O Intemerata...', ff.107-109, leaving a *blank verso facing them*. There seems no reason for this unless it was intended that they should be illustrated with full page miniatures. The next text, the Seven Joys of the Virgin, ff.110-127v., is positioned in exactly the same way and has in fact been illustrated with the devotional miniature on f. 109v. It would not have been surprising had 'O Intemerata...' been illustrated (in Smith-Lesouëf 22 the scribes also allowed for the illustration of both 'O Intemerata...' and the Seven Joys of the Virgin) but it would be very odd for the antiphon 'Salve Regina...' to be so treated.

24. Leroquais, Les Livres d'heures... 1927, I, p.7, stated that there are several replicas of this manuscript. Yet Latin 23215 of the Staatsbibliothek, Munich, and Latin 1352 of the B.N. Paris, two of the three examples that he gave, are far from closely related. The Munich Hours, (see pp.120-22), has only those elements customary in a Book of Hours. Latin 1352, which appears to be a late fourteenth century Paduan manuscript, has the texts customary in a Book of Hours but in comparison with Latin 757 contains very few texts from the Missal: it contains only prayers preliminary to the mass and eight votive masses, ff.147-179v., but has no Ordinary or Canon of the Mass. Furthermore, it includes some texts unlike anything in Latin 757; for example the Virgin's account of the Passion and the Greek and Latin invocations to the Virgin, ff.180-203v. For this manuscript see Leroquais, Les Livres d'heures... 1927, I, p.158.

25. It has been suggested that manuscripts combining Books of Hours and extracts from the Missal which were produced for members of the French court at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries were intended for use in the Sainte Chapelle. J. Harthan, Books of Hours and their Owners (London, 1977), p.97.

26. The most unusual elements are perhaps the special Offices for St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas and St. Anthony. St. Catherine and St. Anthony appear with St. Christopher on f.15 of Smith-Lesouëf 22 presenting the patron to the Virgin and Child.

The feasts listed in the Calendar are mainly standard inclusions in 14th and 15th century Italian calendars: the only exceptional entries are Translation of St. Francis on May 25 and Octave of St. Anthony on June 20, both in red. The Feast of St. Francis of Assisi has been added in a different hand against September 18. The Franciscan entries tie in with the Confiteor of the Mass on f.230v., which reads 'Confiteor Deo omnipotenti....et beato Francisco', and the Office of the Virgin which the rubric describes as according to the use of Rome and the Friars Minor.

27. The emblems appear particularly frequently in the last 120 folios. Either one or both emblems are used in the borders of fifty-two folios: ff.148, 332, 335, 338, 341, 344, 347v., 349v., 352, 355v., 358, 361, 363, 364, 365, 367v., 370, 372v., 375, 377v., 380v., 383v., 386v., 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396v., 401v., 403, 404, 406v., 407v., 409, 410v., 415, 417, 418, 420v., 421v., 423, 424v., 427, 428v., 429, 430, 431, 432, 433v. The miniatures with emblems included in their backgrounds

are on ff.315v., 309, 322, 147, 347, 340v., 357v. and 363v. In contrast arms were placed only in the borders of nine folios, ff.115v., 163, 148, 361, 375, 383v., 396v., 410v., and 424v., and as the infill of the five-line initial on f.58.

28. P. Litta, Celebri Famiglie Italiane, (Milan, 1819-74), unpaginated. For a history of this family see V. Carrari, Historia de' Rossi parmigiani (Ravenna, 1583).
29. Carrari, Historia de' Rossi..., 1583, p.110
30. Carrari, Historia de' Rossi..., 1583, p.114
31. Carrari, Historia de' Rossi..., 1583, p.114
32. Bernardino Corio, L'Historia di Milano (Venice, 1554), pp.265 and 273; G. Romano, 'Nuovi documenti viscontei tratti d'all archivio notarile di Pavia', Archivio Storico Lombardo (1889), p.306.
33. Carrari, Historia de' Rossi..., 1583, p.115
34. Carrari, Historia de' Rossi..., 1583, p.115. The Rossi chapel was to the south of the apse. S. Francesco is still standing but it is now part of Parma prison and has been stripped of all decoration. The fact that his family chapel was in a Franciscan church may account for the Franciscan elements in Latin 757 (see note 26).

35. Giacomo de' Rossi went to Pavia in 1387 to read Canon Law at the university and later became a counsellor to Giangaleazzo, Litta, Celebri famiglie..., 1819, I. Rolando de Rubeis di Parma was podestà of Pavia in 1386, C. Santoro, Gli Uffici del comune di Milano e del dominio Visconteo-Sforzesco (1216-1515) (Milan 1968), p.335. The relationship of Bertrando to either of these men is not clear.
36. Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano, 9 vols. (Milan, 1877-84), I, p.249, 28 May 1402: 'Providerunt quod radia perfitienda et laboranda in fenestra de medio ecclesiae perficiantur cum caudis undecim et alias in forma et prout est divisa nostri illustrissimi Domini, et sicut per eundem proprie defertur, nihil addendo nec diminuendo vel corrigendo, etiam quod arma seu insignia nostri Domini prefati in dicta fenestra laboranda fiant per modum zimeriorum et non solum cum scutis.'
37. The specific correspondence between these scenes and Corio's account of the Coronation make it seem possible that the manuscript was painted after the event and to some extent, accurately recorded it. The man holding Giangaleazzo's standard, where the Imperial eagle and the fleurs-de-lys of France are quartered, who is shown in both miniature and initial on f.8 is identified by Corio, L' Historia..., 1554, p.274 as Otone Mandello. Unfortunately the



swordbearer is not named.

38. I have published this identification of the patron, K. Sutton, 'The original patron... 1982'. See appendix.

## CHAPTER 2

### LATIN 757: STYLE

The extent and organisation of both the decoration and illustration of Latin 757 were described in Chapter 1. Here the components and the style of painting will be discussed.

#### Decoration

There are no decorative line-endings or paragraph marks in this manuscript and the decoration is restricted to painted foliage borders and initials of various sizes. Of the initials, those one-line high, used as capitals throughout the text, are the smallest and simplest whilst being the most abundant: very few folios are without any.<sup>1</sup> Each of these initials has a stave of burnished gold applied over bole with an infill of dark pink, all placed against a ground of blue which is sometimes outlined in black. The ground and infill are decorated with fine white lines and flourishes (ills. 4 and 49).

Two-line initials with short sprays extending into the margin mark the opening of each element of a devotion. The initials, sprays and infill, are all made up of the same foliate forms as the second of the border types discussed below and are placed against a ground of burnished gold. The gold areas here, as in all of the decorative elements, are outlined with black. Each spray ends with pairs, or trebles of kite-

shapes which have burnished gold disks placed between them. There are never any figurative or emblematic inclusions in these initials (ills. 45 and 48).

The initials 'KL' four lines high with borders reaching on to three margins, which decorate the verso half of the double-spread for each month of the Calendar, are also of these forms.

The five-line initials with their accompanying full-page borders, which decorate the beginning of each devotion, are of two types. One, called here type A, is composed of curving, attenuated 'acanthus' leaves. The leaves curl back to show a different-coloured reverse and each leaf differs in colour from its immediate neighbours. The colours used in these leaves are pink, red, light blue and a dull, dark green. The borders spring from the terminals of the five-line initial and then each leaf emerges from its predecessor to undulate around the text, finally ending in terminals similar to ears of wheat. The margins are scattered with disks of burnished gold with black outlines and decoration. Frequently in the lower margins, less often in the upper, where the leaves curl round upon themselves the enclosed area is filled with burnished gold. It is here that the arms and emblems of the owner were painted (ill. 9).

This border style would seem to have evolved from the forms of border decoration composed of bars and acanthus leaves which, originally Bolognese, had become general in Northern Italy by the middle of the

fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The second type of border and five-line initial, type B, which also provides the forms for all the two-line initials, is more restricted and linear. It is made up of tendrils with small leaf offshoots and terminals which are blue, orange-red or pink. After each major leaf-spray the tendril changes colour and the leaves curl to show reverses of a contrasting hue. Extending into the margins from the border are pairs of kite-shapes of blue, red or pink with white decoration. These spring from each point where the tendril changes colour. A burnished gold disk is usually placed between the kite-shapes. These borders are backed with a continuous ground of burnished gold, whose cusped outline follows the shape of the foliage within. This gold ground has a black outline (ills. 4 and 48).

This border style is only found with manuscripts of this group.<sup>3</sup> For both types A and B the terminals and, if there is one, the infill spray of the five-line initial are made up of the same leaf or tendril forms as the border which springs from it. The initial is usually placed against an almost square ground of burnished gold (ills. 7 and 27).

In general, the principle determining which of the two border styles should be used was that they should alternate. In the first part of the manuscript, the Abbreviated Hours for the Days of the Week, the five-line

initials and associated borders systematically alternate between type A and type B in all but three instances, ff.26v., 30v. and 40. On some sides, where two hours begin, each with a five-line initial, this means that the borders are made up half of one style and half of the other. This happens on ff. 26v., 39, 43, 43v., and 47. From f.48 onwards, wherever two five-line initials fall on one side, the style of the initial in the first text column determines the style of the full border, and the second column initial, of the contrasting style, is restricted to having sprays in the central margin only. This produces a visually more coherent solution to the problem posed by those pages which carry the openings of two hours than that used on the first folios of this section. This improvement in design suggests that work was carried out sequentially through the Abbreviated Hours.

Furthermore, from f.48 onwards, wherever two facing sides have full-page borders, one is of type A and the other of type B. This sometimes necessitates an adjustment to the strict alternation of initial types: on the double-spread f.5lv. - f.52, f.5lv. has a first-column initial of type B with a full-page border springing from it whilst the initial in the second column is of type A; on the facing folio, f.52, the first-column initial is again of type A with a full-page border of that style, and the second column initial is of type B. Here then it is the alternation

of the types of border rather than of the initials that is of predominant importance. There seem no casual disruptions to the scheme of alternating initial types, only modifications in favour of an improved design.

There is no other place in the manuscript where two five-line initials fall on the same side of a folio. With the exception of one section of the manuscript, from f.58 onwards each five-line initial has a full-page border springing from it and types A and B alternate strictly. As was the case with the page layout the disruption of the systematic application of this scheme is in the Office of the Dead and the Seven Penitential Psalms. On f.115v., Vespers of the Office of the Dead, the initial and border are of type B, as are the previous ones on f.92. On f.121v., Matins of the Office of the Dead, the initial and border are of type A as are those on f.148, the Seven Penitential Psalms. The next folio with a border, f.163 the Office of the Passion, is also decorated in style A and is the first five-line initial in what we have seen is very likely to be a continuous section of text. Certainly, from this point on, the types of five-line initial with border alternate consistently.

The decoration of the Office of the Dead and that of the Seven Penitential Psalms are therefore out of sequence both with the contiguous decoration and with each other. One reason for this could be that they

were two separate sections, ff.115-146 and ff.147-154, whose final position was not obvious at the time of decoration. This would accord with the observations made on the absence of catchwords at the end of gatherings 21 and 23. Alternatively, the decorative scheme may not have been fully determined at the time that these initials and borders were painted.

It may seem to some extent inaccurate and arbitrary to class the full-page borders and the five-line initials from which they spring as decorative rather than illustrative elements when in many instances they combine both functions: the initials and borders of both types may contain figurative elements.<sup>4</sup> The purpose of their inclusion must, however, have been primarily decorative since they are often unrelated to the text. For example, the initial introducing Prime of the Short Hours of the Holy Ghost, f.38v. (ill. 2), contains a young man breaking a stick over his knee - clearly a disappointed suitor from the Marriage of the Virgin. Even where the figurative elements are related to the text, they may be treated playfully. This lightness and wit in the choice of subjects is seen in the borders of the Office of St. Nicholas, ff.396v.-410v., where the three golden balls, St. Nicholas's usual attributes, are used as playthings; on f.406v. a courtly lady in the initial is about to throw one across the text to a small dog in the lower border (ill. 49).

The refined and elegant decorative elements, where touches of humour combine with svelte finish and an abundant use of gold, play an important part in the impression of opulence and charm which this manuscript gives, but it is the frequency and accomplishment of the full-page miniatures which are responsible for the particular impact and appeal of this book.

### Illustration

The miniatures at the opening of the manuscript are to some extent the most innovatory and spectacular. Treating each day of the Creation,<sup>5</sup> the subject matter has dictated the shape of the miniature. They reproduce the circular shape of the heavens and earth and, uniquely in surviving works of art, the acts of Creation are contained within these circles.<sup>6</sup> Only on f.24, the first day of Creation of the Heavens and Earth and Light, is God, perhaps logically pictured outside these spheres (ill. 1).<sup>7</sup> Otherwise only the mandorla of God and occasionally part of his figure extend beyond these carefully drawn concentric rings (ills. 3, 5 and 6).<sup>8</sup> The outer band of each is burnished gold and serves as a nimbus to frame these remarkable paintings.

The format of all the other miniatures is uniform and more conventional. Each one is enclosed by a narrow frame of pink, blue, red or green, shaded darker



on the outside and lit with white towards the painted field. From each corner of this frame a stylized spray with golden disks and kite-shapes spreads into the margins. Where the miniature has an outdoor setting the sky has been replaced with a decorative field of burnished gold or blue, or these colours variously combined or patterned.<sup>9</sup> All the interior scenes are set within a building of reduced scale from which the front wall has been removed. Although it may only be visible above the building there is always a decorative ground implying the exterior world.

Although the scenes shown may include quite elaborate structures, these are never very rationally treated and recession presents insuperable problems. One of the most involved buildings is the church shown on f.114v. (ill. 16), which may be intended as a representation of Sant' Ambrogio, Milan.<sup>10</sup> Here the roof, with two towers, a drum and a stair turret, is shown in side view whilst the interior is a strange composite of a centrally placed apse set in galleried aisles. The only correspondence in the alignment of interior and exterior is between the octagonal dome and the circular drum. Nonetheless it makes an impressive setting for the Burial of a Bishop and, although the features are oddly combined, they may be included because they are the most characteristic of a particular building.

Similarly the setting for the Birth of the Virgin, f.35lv. (ill. 41), is ambitious and interesting. The birth has taken place in a room off a paved court with arcaded galleries at first-floor level. There has obviously been some consideration of the effects of a central viewpoint in the splaying of the gallery supports and the angle of view into the window embrasures but the side galleries and roofs slope down instead of up and Anne's bed appears perilously raked. A not dissimilar structure is treated more competently on f.337v. (ill. 38), the Birth of the Baptist.

In those few cases where there is an acknowledgement that orthogonals should converge, even approximately, on a central vanishing point the attempt always falls down. This is particularly noticeable wherever there is a centrally positioned tiled floor, as in the St. John miniature, f.216v. (ill. 19), where there is no real recession, only mirror-imaged diagonals symmetrically placed on either side of a central line. One attempt to avoid the problem of showing a receding tiled floor, to which there was frequent recourse, was to show it running diagonally, even though the rest of the interior was seen from a central viewpoint, f.337v. (ill. 38).<sup>11</sup> In some scenes the orthogonals even seem to diverge rather than converge, as in the Last Supper, f.250v. (ill. 51), where the architrave below the clerestory and the line where the wall and ceiling meet are farther apart at the rear of the scene than at the

front of the picture plane.<sup>12</sup> The Flagellation, f.254v. (ill. 26), has perhaps the most ably drawn tiled floor but here the top of the column to which Christ is tied joins the architrave between the two side columns, framing and at the front of the picture field, whilst its base is in the centre of the room enclosed by these columns. Even in those miniatures where such problems are minimised by viewing the buildings obliquely the buildings are not drawn with firm parallel verticals and have a rather shaky appearance. These apparent shortcomings in the drawing of buildings seem likely to be the result of lack of interest in such questions. The effect desired, and achieved, was richness and variety and not accuracy. It is worth noting that the obvious solution to the difficulty of receding tiles is never used: there are no plain floors in any interior.

Although none of the buildings exactly duplicate one another there are certain features which regularly reappear: a slender column with a capital of a double row of crockets, (ills 16, 33 and 46); arcades on insubstantial piers rectangular in section, (ills 10, 26 and 38); rows of narrow, round-topped windows (ills 17, 29 and 37); a flat-topped diaphragm arch where vertical and horizontal meet in a diagonal, (ills 26, 37 and 38); the tops of slender towers visible in the background (ills 17 and 41); balconies or galleries supported on corbels (ills 17 and 41); walls or turrets battlemented with forked merlons, (ills 11

and 17)); small, fence-like, stone balustrades along the tops of buildings and towers, (ills. 33, 37 and 58). These are only some examples of the repertory of architectural forms and only some examples of their use. They are not rigidly repeated but are used in different combinations and usually differ in detail. Even the most closely similar buildings, the aisled church with a clerestory of oculi on f.262v. and again on f.360v. differ in proportion and detail (ills. 29 and 43). There is a holy water stoup partially visible through the doorway of each church but in the first it appears to be more Romanesque, like a cushion capital, and in the second more Gothic. The corbel table of the second is a painted frieze in the first, and the finials and rose-windows are different in shape. The resourceful use of these stock components results in varied if rather superfluously complicated structures which may appear, to the sophisticated spectator, unsteadily assembled. The choice seems to have been for smartness rather than verisimilitude.

Their colour does not make these buildings more convincing, and it too seems to have been selected on decorative rather than realistic grounds. Most commonly the outside walls are pink or salmon-pink, with details like string courses or window embrasures picked out in violet, f.76, or green, f.337v. Inside walls are also sometimes pink but may be a pale violet, f.364v. (ill. 63), and vaults and ceilings are shown

as blue, f.334v. (ill. 60). A few buildings are represented more drably, most notably the church in the Burial of a Bishop miniature in f.114v. Here the exterior walls are blank parchment shaded grey and the interior is grey with gold pigment to decorate the faces of the arcades and ribs of the apse. Only the ribs of the galleries and aisles have any colour. The building in this miniature may have been treated exceptionally because it was intended to be a portrait.<sup>13</sup>

The exterior settings are, on the whole, less ambitious and are usually limited to a simple ground plane upon which the action takes place. In some scenes the ground is painted with flowers and grasses, ff.57v., 109v. (ill. 15), and, if it is flat and bare, is shaded more darkly as it recedes, ff.286v., 362v. (ills. 32 and 44). Usually the ground is bare but uneven, ff.76 and 276v. (ills. 11 and 30). In this latter, the Canonical miniature, the Crucifix is set in green and rocky ground. The grounds of bare rock often curve around to form coulisses at the pictures' edges, ff.349 and 357v. (ills. 40 and 42). In a few of the miniatures set on a rocky ground there is a conventional precipice edge at the front of the picture plane, ff.293v. and 325 (ills. 34 and 57). Occasionally jagged mounds dotted with small trees are placed behind the figures, ff.91 and 296v. (ills. 50 and 35). All these variations, however, are essentially minor adjustments to a very simple scheme and it is only

when the subject demands it that more involved landscape settings are provided, like the cave where the penitent Magdalene receives the Host, f.343v. (ill. 39), and the Oratory and Monte La Verna for the Stigmatization of St. Francis, f.360v. (ill. 43). One gets no impression of an interest in showing landscapes similar to that apparent in the buildings and interiors, where complicated settings are used quite gratuitously and without regard to the attendant problems.

As the settings can be classified into restricted and related groups so the figures who people them seem a remarkably homogeneous set of types. Although they are expressive and very attractive the figures have a rather mannikin-like quality, as though the idealised forms which they represent were those of dolls rather than people. The animated gestures and contemporary dress which they often wear serve to make them lively without being life-like. It is an aspect which adds to their charm and to the enjoyment of these miniatures. It also makes them less troubling, an advantage to the squeamish when so many of them treat martyrdoms, but perhaps self-defeating when part of a devotional exercise. Many of the figures have smooth, round faces with full cheeks, small mouths and wide foreheads: Creation of Sun, Moon and Stars, f.41; Adoration of the Magi, f.293v.; Transfiguration, f.309; Elevation of the Host, f.329; Madonna della Misericordia, f.258 (ills. 3, 34, 53, 58 and 28). The differences between

them are almost restricted to dress, hair-style and colour, and the addition of a few wrinkles. There are only a few miniatures where the protagonists are invested with any dignity or conviction in the roles that they play: the Temptation of St. Anthony, f.296v., the Stigmatisation of St. Francis, f.360v. (ills. 26 and 43). But the restraint of these scenes is unusual. Elsewhere it seems that wherever it was possible, there was a preference for crowds and action. Some scenes are densely packed - St. Helena, f.355 (ill. 62) finds the True Cross with the assistance of four digging men, watched by four of her ladies, a male attendant and seven learned men. Included in the crowded miniatures of the Passion are a group of captors who appear in several scenes discussing or assisting Christ's fate. One of them, a bearded man wearing a tall fur hat and a blue doublet, reappears later in the book in the Flagellation, f.254v., and again as the executioner of St. Agnes, f.298 (ills. 26 and 36). Even the iconic image of the Man of Sorrows, f.237 (ill. 22), has been filled with anecdotal detail: the central, very fine figure of the dead Christ is surrounded not only by the customary instruments of the Passion but by disembodied heads and gesturing hands.

In a way analogous with the treatment of architecture the inclusion of many figures and the taste for movement, gesture and complicated posture

present many problems of both organisation and draughtsmanship. As with architecture, simple solutions unworried by concern over realism are used: foreground figures are often smaller than those further back and do not, therefore, obscure the view of the main action, ff.355, 334v., 262v., 250v and 362v. (ills. 62, 60, 29, 51 and 44). Often figures are cut by the frame, for example, only the face, arm and the foot are visible of one of the two men tending the fire beneath St. Lawrence, f.347 (ill. 61).

Many of the miniatures introducing the Masses of the Sanctoral could, like other manuscripts or panel paintings, have been illustrated with a series of standing saints but here, with only a few exceptions, the subjects have been given a narrative treatment: rather than St. Catherine with her wheel as an attribute we see the saint naked but for her crown, kneeling between four wheels, each turned by an executioner, at the moment when the angel intervenes to save her, f.362v. (ill. 44). Although the arrested movement of several of the participants in this and other scenes causes them to appear oddly jointed, it still remains dramatic and effective - like the man with flying cape and hair who is on the point of hurling a rock at St. Stephen, f.286v. (ill. 32). Often the drawing of figures gives much the same impression as the drawing of buildings; they may be somewhat ill-assembled or out of proportion but they are nonetheless interesting,



varied, lively and attractive: the sleeping Adam, f.49 (ill. 5), is a rather endearing figure, fast asleep with his head on his arm, legs crossed, surrounded by prowling bear, sheep, lion and dragon, whilst a buxom Eve emerges from his side. It is the combination of an effort towards naturalism with the doll-like unreality of these figures which invests them with so much charm.

The means of representation, as much as the types represented, are quite consistent. Flesh is contoured with a rich brown or red line which is also used to delineate the features or expressions. There are variations though in the way that the flesh itself is painted. In the most carefully finished miniatures faces are built up of small strokes of pigment ranging in tone from an orange-pink through to white highlights. In others, although the white lights and orange-pink shading are constant, the parchment may have been left blank for the mid-tone or have been washed with a beige or greenish beige which is then left unpainted to serve for the areas of deepest shadow. Whichever of these techniques is used there is almost always an area of orange or salmon-pink shading at the sides of the nostrils and the flesh tones are light and warm. Young women particularly have very pale faces with distinct dimpled chins, ff.302, 351 and 380 (ills. 37, 41 and 47). There are two frequent and idiosyncratic features in the drawing of faces: firstly, the network of wrinkles

in the old and the emotional show a V-shaped wrinkle between the brows and a bag with radiating crowsfeet below the eyes, ff.85 and 377 (ills. 14 and 46); secondly, noses are shown with a double-branched highlight coming from both the bridge and the cheekbone down towards the tip, ff.293v. and 296v. (ills. 34 and 35).

The most common hair colour is a golden yellow, though some men have brown hair and the aged have white. Hair is most usually painted in parallel, wavy lines of a saturated or darker shade upon a wash of mid-tone. Sometimes there are white highlights.

These figures are clothed in a mixture of conventional, unspecific archaising robes and fashionable fourteenth century dress, for example the eldest Magus, in the Adoration on f.293v. (ill. 34), wears a loose robe and a simple fur-lined mantle, whilst the two younger Magi and the Virgin all wear carefully drawn and painted contemporary dress. More usually in the Biblical scenes the central religious characters, like Christ, the Apostles and the Virgin, wear conventional loose robes whilst the secular and ancillary figures are dressed in contemporary costume: Christ before Pilate, f.72; the Feeding of five thousand, f.315v.; the Raising of Lazarus, f.318v.; the Entry into Jerusalem, f.322 (ills. 10, 54, 55 and 56). This contemporary clothing is often shown in

realistic detail and variety, for example in the Madonna della Misericordia, f.258 (ill. 28). In the stoning of St. Stephen on f.286v. (ill. 32) the executioner has undone both his hose and the buttons on the sleeves of his doublet to enable more freedom of movement.

There are several examples of patterned fabrics, two of them used repeatedly; a yellow fabric with a pattern of eyes, ff.76, 79, 372 and 372v. (ills. 11 and 12); and a white fabric with red wavy lines enclosing a blue grid, ff.76, 114v., 293v. and 298 (ills. 11, 16, 34 and 36). Most of the other fabrics with a complex decoration appear only once. Two of the most opulent are worn by two of St. Ursula's attendant Virgins, f.380 (ill.47). Fourteenth and fifteenth century descriptions survive of similar fabric used for the dresses of noble women.<sup>14</sup> It is perhaps characteristic of this style that the most considered and realistic, if anachronistic, treatment should be given to a subordinate and decorative component.

The colours used for the clothing are pink, light blue, mid-blue, a clear red, bottle green, pale violet and a rich yellow, and are all modelled by applying a darker or more saturated pigment to an evenly applied mid-tone.<sup>15</sup> It is only rarely that there are any white highlights, although the red is often lit with orange and the green with yellow. The pigments are all used as opaque body-colour, the only transparent washes in

the miniatures are a rather sharp green, a brown and a grey, which are used for the earth. In addition to the burnished gold of the backgrounds and haloes, gold is used as a pigment to decorate drapery, and some masonry, and silver is used for armour, and occasional metal objects.

These colours and metals are used, and in much the same way, for drapery, architecture, miniature backgrounds, initials and decorative borders, consequently there is a unity, a balance and an interplay of colour across the double-spread wherever a miniature faces a text page with initials and border. This use of colour, as everything else, seems based upon decorative rather than realistic or rational considerations.

This is not an intellectual style: no attention has been paid to the effects of directional lighting, everything is evenly lit and without cast shadows; problems of scale, recession and space have simply been disregarded. And it is perhaps because of this that Latin 757 is such a successful and beguiling book, for, with an intimate, flexible and mobile support, like the parchment page, an effective illusionism may be inappropriate and disruptive. A small recreation of reality makes an uneasy juxtaposition with a page of text.

#### Collaboration in the style of Latin 757

Although there is an overall homogeneity in these miniatures, in the types of figures used and the manner in which the illustrations are composed and furnished,

there are some small variations within this consistency. The effect and appearance common to these paintings can be seen to have been achieved through different means. This is true to some extent of broad features of design, like drapery or figure style, but most particularly in the details of finish and the handling of pigments in both borders and miniatures.

The recognition of these discrepancies has resulted in the view of this manuscript as the joint product of a group of painters. The attempt to characterise the contribution of individual artists and then apportion miniatures amongst these hands has, however, been both partial and unconvincing.<sup>16</sup> Ultimately it is the similarity of the illuminations which is more remarkable than any variation. Both of these aspects are particularly apparent in the continuous series of illustrations of the Creation and a comparison of the two most closely similar scenes provides an explanation for this anomaly.

After the initial scene of the Creation of Heaven and Earth on f.24 (ill. 1), each miniature shows the Cosmos as four concentric bands, the outermost of burnished gold, then white, blue and red, around the disk of the earth. The upper segment of a mandorla extends across the gold into the upper margin and the figure of God stands somewhere within the Cosmos directing the acts of Creation. God is always clad in a pink robe with a matching mantle over one shoulder,

but the figure of God varies from the solid, seated bulk of f.24, whose robe falls into contained, zig-zagging folds on the ground, to the Creator of birds on f.45. Here mantle and robe hang around a slighter body which is not described by the drapery falling in angular folds to extend around his feet. Such variation may be partially accounted for by differences in scale or the possibility of the designer following a different model as the source for his figure. The differences in execution cannot be similarly explained. On f.24 the pink drapery is shaded with a blue-grey, folds are outlined with dark pink and the highest relief is depicted with white highlights. On f.45 the robe is a deeper pink, with the shaded areas shown as a darker pink rather than blue-grey and no distinct contours mark out the folds. The edges of the mantle are decorated with an orange border. It seems unlikely, therefore, that the whole series of the Creation miniatures, in spite of the emphatic uniformity of lay-out and conception, should be attributed to the painting of one illuminator. By examining the final two miniatures of this cycle one reason for the difficulty of either accepting Latin 757 as the work of a single artist or of dividing the miniatures amongst different 'hands' becomes clear.

Folios 49 (ill. 5), the Creation of Eve, and 53 (ill. 6), God with the Created World, are particularly close in content and composition. The tall, thin figure of God the Father, his clothing falling into

sharp points, dwarfs the figures of Adam and Eve which are of the same shape and proportions in each miniature. Each Eden is shown to contain similar animals, birds and trees. Even the rivers follow approximately the same course. There seems every reason to assume that these scenes were drawn by the same designer. A closer look shows that these so similar miniatures were brought to completion by very different means.

The concentric rings of the Cosmos on f.49 are built up of small strokes of a paler pigment upon a darker regularly applied ground, orange on red for the innermost ring, and a paler upon a more saturated blue for the rest. On f.53 these bands are painted with more variable, broader strokes of colour. The relatively greater control and care in application of pigment is a consistent feature of all the painting on f.49: the earth is painted with a smooth layer of colour, leaves and fruit are carefully described on the trees, plants on the ground have coloured flowers. These features are treated less precisely on f.53. Similarly the rendering of flesh follows the alternatives noted as general throughout the manuscript. On f.49, the face of God is carefully modelled with small strokes of white and salmon-pink, overlaid with red-brown lines to wrinkle his brow and to put crows' feet from the bag beneath his eye. In contrast on f.53 areas of white emphasise the brow-line, cheeks and upper forehead,

whilst the sockets of the eyes are left to reveal underwash of beige to act as the areas of shade which extend down to either side of the mouth. In each miniature the bodies of Adam and Eve are treated similarly to the face of God. There is a more careful build-up of flesh tones to white lights on f.49 and a less assertive red-brown contour than on f.53. The drapery clothing the figure of God, so similar in form in the two scenes, is carefully evoked with a more gradual tonal modulation on f.49 whilst on f.53 the folds are described by the use of a deep pink contour. The edge of God's mantle is picked out with a border of orange on f.49.

It seems likely, on the basis of the formal and compositional similarities, that both of these miniatures were drawn by the same artist. The different treatment of painting, with a greater refinement and a more precise and gradual tonal gradation on f.49 compared to the broader treatment and greater dependence upon line in f.53, make it seem probable that the miniatures were painted by two different illuminators.

On the basis of this characterisation of the painting of these folios it would seem likely that the miniatures of the Creation cycle can be grouped as having been painted in two styles, ff.24, 28, 41 belonging with f.53 and ff.37 and 45 belonging with f.49. There do not appear to be any grounds for dividing the design of these miniatures between more than one hand.



This collaboration and division of work, with the design of one artist being painted by another, inevitably obscures the contribution of the individual to the manuscript and makes the always subjective and uncertain attribution and grouping of miniatures more complicated and unreliable. With the variables of scale and subject matter compounded by this variety of finish, it would be unwise to venture an opinion on the number of draughtsmen at work on Latin 757. There seem, however, to have been at least two painters.

Using the definition given above of the style of Latin 757 to clarify the relationship of this manuscript with others related to it by earlier scholarship may throw further light on the composition of the workshop which produced these manuscripts.

## Notes to Chapter 2

1. Capitals in the text are painted one-line initials of this type throughout sections ff.1-262v. and 383v.439 of this manuscript. In the Missal section ff.263-383, the text capitals are only occasionally painted and this form of one-line initial is more usually reserved for the sign of the cross.
2. Two Lombard examples of the use of this earlier type of acanthus border are the Missal, Milan, Bibl. Capitolare, II D 2.32, and the Liber sancti Bernardi, Paris, B.N., Latin 1142 (see Arte lombarda..., 1958, figs. XL and XLII).
3. In Latin 757 this border style is a more elegant version of one of the borders in the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich, Staatsbibl., Latin 23215. The border in the Munich manuscript has some features in common with some English manuscripts, see pp.158-59.
4. Five-line initials have figured infills on ff.25v., 38v., 47v., 48, 55, 173, 174v., 237v., 255, 290, 300, 303, 312v., 316, 322v., 325v., 328, 329v., 332, 338, 347, 347v., 349v., 352, 355v., 358, 363, 364, 370, 372v., 375, 377v., 380v., 386v., 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 395, 396v., 401v., 403, 404, 405v., 406v., 409, 410v., 424v. and 430. All those from f.237v. to f.396v., and also ff.410v. and

424v., are half-lengths or busts of saints or prophets, except for ff.255 and 355v. The saints and prophets are not necessarily identifiable as appropriate to the text. The initials on ff.40, 5lv., 184 and 217 have foliate infills but there are monochrome grotesques within the staves. All the other five-line initials have foliage or emblematic infills.

5. This unusual cycle was presumably chosen because it provided the right number of subjects. They do not, however, coincide appropriately with the text, since Sunday is the first day of the Abbreviated Hours. The more obvious illustrations of the Hours themselves, Trinity, the Dead, Holy Spirit, etc. are used later in the manuscript for the Masses of the Days of the Week, ff.230-261v.
6. Perhaps this was developed from the cycle in Bibles Moralisées: in Paris, B.N., fr.9561 the first three days of the Creation are shown in disk form but they are not separated into concentric rings of heaven and earth and a large figure of God stands to one side and holds the disk. Paris, B.N., fr.166 is organised in the same way.

7. Perhaps the most remarkable, iconographically, is day four, f.41, the Creation of the Sun, Moon and Stars, where the constellations of the zodiac are shown as monochrome figures, flattened around the outer edge of the heavens, almost as though swimming. I am grateful to Kristen Lippincott for discussing this miniature with me. She tells me she knows of no precedent for this representation of the zodiac.
8. Compass points are visible on all these folios.
9. The most common background is burnished gold, punched to give a diaper pattern, see f.72v. There are thirty miniatures with this type of ground. There are ten with plain burnished gold grounds and two with a gold ground punched more sparsely, f.254v. Three miniatures have grounds of plain blue but this is necessary to make the subject legible: Assumption of the Virgin, f.349; Stigmatisation of St. Francis, f.360v; Dove of the Holy Spirit, f.24lv. Twenty-one grounds combine gold and blue, either diapered, chequered or with the monogram or emblem of the owner in one colour on a ground of the other, ff.380, 369v., 315v. and 322, (ills 10, 26, 40, 47 and 61).
10. This is by no means an exact portrait of Sant' Ambrogio but it does show strong similarities. It is a galleried Romanesque church with a drum

on squinches over a crossing with an apse beyond. One of the most unusual features of Sant' Ambrogio is also reproduced, the two towers of differing styles, the left with corbel table decoration and the right without. Sant' Ambrogio had two campanili because it was used by both a college of canons and a monastery. The campanile dei monaci, usually dated to the ninth century, is on the right and the twelfth century campanile dei canonici is on the left of the facade. If the church painted on f.114v. is meant as Sant 'Ambrogio the event depicted would presumably be the burial of St Ambrose. The officiating sainted bishop would perhaps be S. Sempliciano, St Ambrose's successor as bishop of Milan.

11. Often, as in this miniature, not only is there no attempt to make the lines converge, but they are not regularly spaced, parallel or even straight. And on f.337v. this is a second attempt: a grid of intersecting diagonals, like a lattice window is still discernible. Recession is shown here by more intense pigmentation at the back of the room.
12. This distortion extends to the figures and those behind the table are larger than those in front.
13. See n.10.
14. On the left of this miniature stands one woman in a white dress with a design of de' Rossi's emblem

in gold. Isabella de'Este chose a dress length of gold and silver tissue embroidered with the twin towers of the lighthouse of Genoa - the personal device of her brother-in-law, Ludovico Sforza from whom it was a gift. E. Birbari The Importance of Dress in 15th century Italy (London, 1975), p.9. Another woman in this miniature wears a violet dress embroidered with pearls in the shape of phoenixes. When Valentina Visconti, Giangaleazzo's daughter, went to France in 1389 to join her husband Louis d'Orléans amongst the items she took with her were several garments 'seminata di perle da conto' or 'lavorata a spighe di perle, & diamanti, tenuti col filo d'oro'. B. Corio, L'Historia..., 1554, pp.266v. and 267.

15. For an idea of the colour in these miniatures see ills 50-65.
16. The difficulty of this task is acknowledged in the catalogue of the 1984 exhibition in Paris, Dix siècles..., p.96, 'Bien que très homogène au premier abord, l'exécution de ces miniatures est le fait de plusieurs collaborateurs, dont la part respective n'est cependant pas aisée à distinguer'. Some of the miniatures, including the Passion cycle and the devotional miniature, are then attributed to Giovanni di Benedetto da Como who signed the fly-leaf of the Hours of

Blanche of Savoy, Munich, Staatsbibl. 23215. Apart from this illuminator a team of more or less closely related painters are understood to have worked on the manuscript. The Creation cycle is, along with the Transfiguration on f.309, attributed to the most individual amongst these, Dix siècles..., p.97. Earlier Arslan, 'Riflessioni...', 1963, pp.31-33, attributed the miniatures of Latin 757 to two distinct miniaturists, each with one or more assistants. One of these illuminators he characterised as a Lombard realist, the other as a Northern European responsible for introducing 'International Gothic' into Italy. To the first he allocated, amongst others, the miniatures of the donor before the Virgin and Child, f.109v., and St Ursula and her Virgins, f.380. To the second he gave the Transfiguration, f.309, and several of the Creation cycle, including both ff.49 and 53.

### CHAPTER 3

#### OTHER MANUSCRIPTS PAINTED IN THE STYLE OF LATIN 757

In this chapter all of the manuscripts which have been recognised as including illustration associable with the style of Latin 757 will be described and discussed. Consideration of the chronology of the manuscripts and the context of their production will, however, be deferred.

The manuscripts which make up the nucleus of this group associated with Latin 757 are two Books of Hours, Paris, B.N. Smith-Lesouëf 22 and Modena, Biblioteca Estense,  $\alpha$  S.2.31, Latin 862,<sup>1</sup> a romance, the so-called Lancelot du lac, Paris B.N. fr.343, a Tacuinum Sanitatis, Paris, B.N. n.a. lat. 1673, and a Lucan De Bello Civile, Paris, B.N. Latin 8045.<sup>2</sup> All of these include, in at least part of their decoration, the forms, types and other stylistic features recognisably shared with the decoration or illustration of Latin 757.

The extent of the painting in this style varies from one manuscript to another and Latin 757 is unique amongst them in being completed in this style alone. Three of the manuscripts where an extensive programme of illustration was planned were left unfinished at the time of the first campaign of painting and either remain incomplete or contain miniatures and decoration of a recognisably later type. In others the style of



Latin 757 appears to be one element of a corporate effort, even if it is usually the dominant and determining element.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE SMITH-LESOUËF 22

This book is a more compact and modest version of Latin 757. In spite of this Smith-Lesouëf 22 is not painted with the same stylistic unity (ills 66-81).<sup>3</sup> Some of the illustration and decoration is in the same style as Latin 757, for example the full-page miniatures on folios 15, 24, 34v., 38v., 41v., 45, 48v., 57, 84 and 296 and the historiated initials on folios 15v., 24v., 35, 39, 42, 45v., 57v., 92, 95, 100v., 103 and 104.

Besides the general similarity of colour, finish and composition of many of the illustrations, compare for example the Flagellations, f.24 (ill. 68) in Smith-Lesouëf 22 and f.254v. (ill. 26) in Latin 757, the same characters and types are found in both manuscripts. The fur-hatted, blue-doublet and bearded man from the Passion cycle of Latin 757 stands at the right edge of the Betrayal miniature, f.296 (ill. 81), and in Christ carrying the Cross, f.38v., (ill. 70) of Smith-Lesouëf 22. There are examples of a quite close duplication of figures found in Latin 757 but they are never used in exactly the same way: the white-bearded man holding a pointed shield and sword in his right hand who stands on the left of the Christ before Pilate in Latin 757, f.72v., (ill. 10), is partially visible on the left of the same scene in

Smith-Lesouëf 22, f.34v. (ill. 69); Mary supporting the Virgin, in Smith-Lesouëf 22, f.45 (ill.74), is very like the Mary standing to the left in the Lamentation of Latin 757, f.85 (ill. 14); John the Evangelist in the Deposition of Smith-Lesouëf 22, f.48v. (ill. 75), is essentially the same figure as the Evangelist in the Crucifixion with the Virgin and Evangelist on f.267v. (ill. 30) of Latin 757; the dove of the Holy Spirit in the initial on f.104 (ill. 77) of Smith-Lesouëf 22 is a smaller version of that in the full-page miniature of f.24lv. (ill. 24) of Latin 757. The two distinctively patterned fabrics which recur throughout the miniatures of Latin 757 reappear in this manuscript; St Catherine on f.15 (ill. 66) wears the white fabric with blue and red grids and the yellow fabric patterned with eyes is worn by one of the soldiers in Christ before Pilate on f.34v. (ill. 69).

It is not only the use of motifs and types found in Latin 757 but also the way that they are used that suggest that these manuscripts were produced in the same workshop. For they are not slavish copies, one miniature of the other, but the same repertoire has been used inventively in fresh combinations, although always within the same conventions of composition, showing the freedom of familiarity in following customary practice and patterns.

There is a similar variation in finish and precise technique in these miniatures as in those of Latin 757. The Annunciation on f.84 (ill. 76) shows the same careful build-up of pigment that was seen in the Creation of Eve on f.49 (ill. 5) of Latin 757, whilst the paint is much more broadly applied in the Crucifixion on f.45 (ill. 74) of Smith-Lesouëf 22. Once more the same effect is achieved by different means: the furrowed brows making a V-shape between the eyebrows of those attendant upon the Betrayal, f.296 (ill. 81), are shown by painting the ridged flesh paler; on f.57, the Entombment, the same expression is described by painting the wrinkles with an orange-brown line.

Although the forms of the borders which spring from the historiated initials, the two-line foliate initials and the sprays at the corners of the miniature frames are all made up of ivy-leaf sprays imitative of French borders and are not the components of either of the border styles of Latin 757, there are similarities in lay-out and in detail: on f.15v. the stave of the six-line initial and the narrow tendril with leaf terminals which forms the lower half of the left-hand border are like those of style B of Latin 757 and there are often figural inclusions similar to those within the borders of Latin 757. The one-line high initials within the text are also of a different type from those of Latin 757; the staves are alternately blue and burnished gold and are decorated with flourishes

of red and violet.

All of the decoration and illustration in this manuscript stemming from the workshop responsible for that of Latin 757 seems to be the earliest, and determining, style of painting in the book, but the programme was not completed until the middle of the fifteenth century by the Master of the Birago Hours.<sup>4</sup> There are further complications to a division of work between each campaign; the first campaign included a gathering whose decoration, although of an imitation French type, is entirely attributable to an artist not working in the style of Latin 757.<sup>5</sup> Other folios have borders which were painted during the first campaign but were left unfinished; the ink outlining and white decoration were provided during the mid-fifteenth century completion of the manuscript.<sup>6</sup>

When this earliest campaign of painting stopped, different sections of the manuscript were at different stages of completion; several of the miniatures and, it seems, all of the historiated initials and other decorative elements had been drawn and the later painters, one of appalling ineptitude on f.168v., and the Master of the Birago Hours on ff.119v., 213 and 223, faithfully followed this drawing when completing the painting. This is obvious, for example, in the miniature of St Ambrose baptising St Augustine on f.213 (ill. 78), where the thin sharp colours and use of gold pigment is typical of the style of the Master of the Birago Hours, whilst the proportions and types of

the figures, and the composition is that of the style of Latin 757. It is not only a general but a quite specific similarity in some details: the church shown is the same structure as that in the Elevation of the Host in f.262v. (ill. 29) of Latin 757, down to the view through the doorway showing part of the Holy water stoup. The miniature of the Last Supper, f.119v., which introduces the Mass of the Sacrament is very close to that introducing the same text on f.250v. (ill. 51) of Latin 757. The Birago Master, however, misunderstood the drawing and has converted the Host held by Christ into an orb.

Elsewhere the Master of the Birago Hours added new compositions on the blank parchment below the end of a devotion, ff.38, 44v. (by Belbello da Pavia)<sup>7</sup>, 56v. (drawn by Belbello but painted by the Master of the Birago Hours), 62 and 212, or on inserted folios, ff.61, 61v., and 295, or over erasures of work of the earliest campaign, ff.49, 79 and 89. At the end of the manuscript two full-page miniatures, one by the inept painter and one by the Master of the Birago Hours have been painted on folios integral with the text. Whilst that by the inept painter, f.348v., is generically similar to the Baptism miniature on f.437 of Latin 757, but without the precise analogies to confirm that this painter was following an earlier drawing, that by the Master of the Birago Hours, f.359,

is obviously a new composition.

The additions and alterations are, with just one exception, the historiated initial with the Virgin and Child and full-page border, restricted to the illustration.

The border on f.49, which is over an erasure, is like that of f.125 of the Birago Hours.<sup>8</sup> Otherwise, all of the borders and two-line foliate initials are of the type of the early campaign and include the same grotesques and decorative elements. There is, however, a clear division into two in the way that these borders and initials are painted. The main variation is in the colour of the leaf sprays: a purplish pink, turquoise blue and pale green may replace the pink, red and blue of the first campaign. By comparison with the initials of the Birago Hours it appears that these were the standard hues used by this mid-fifteenth century illuminator to colour foliate initials of his own designing.<sup>9</sup> The forms of the initials in the later book are, however, quite different from those in Smith-Lesouëf 22 and have contained, curled, short sprays. In Smith-Lesouëf 22, as was the case with several miniatures and all of the historiated initials, the Master of the Birago Hours seems to have followed the early designs for the two-line initials and sprays but used his preferred colour scheme. Neither did he add stumps to the tendrils of the sprays, nor an ink outline

to all of the foliage forms nor ink tendrils or circles in the margins (compare f.39 (ill. 71) painted during the first campaign, with f.224 (ill. 79) painted during the later campaign). The one-line text initials on the folios with later painting are also of the same type as those in the Birago Hours. Apart from f.49 none of the decorative elements which were painted during the first campaign have been altered and even where the decorative elements had only been drawn this early design was followed by the later painters.

There are no apparent additions to, or omissions from, the original text.<sup>10</sup>

#### Writing and text

Whereas in Latin 757 the catchwords and composition indicate quite clearly the probable division of the texts for the task of writing, Smith-Lesouëf 22 appears to have been less systematically produced and presents a cloudier picture. Its composition is not regular and, although the majority of the gatherings are quaternions, smaller gatherings are used at points other than the likely end of a section of a scribe's work. The use of catchwords is equally unhelpful: all those gatherings, in the Office of the Virgin, ff.15-118, where the final verso carries or faces a miniature have no catchword. It is unlikely that all of these

reflect a division, since the text and miniatures are continuous and rely on a blank side at the end of one gathering to receive the illustration for the Hour opening on the first side of the next.

Taking into account, however, blanks left at the ends of gatherings and changes in script,<sup>11</sup> the most likely division into sections, each the continuous work of one scribe, seems to be as follows.

ff.1-14, one quaternion and one ternion	Easter tables 1380-1490 Calendar
an unfoliated gathering of 7ff. with a stump between the 4th and 5th	Contents list and three folios blank recto and verso
ff.15-119, one gathering of 4ff. three quaternions and a binion	Office of the Virgin, Matins, Lauds, Prime Tierce and Sext
and	
a binion	None
and	
a quaternion	Vespers
and	
a binion	Compline
and	
a binion (of which one is a replacement folio) and seven quaternions (of which the final one has a folio cut out)	Propers for the Office of the Virgin 'O Intemerata' Seven Joys of the Virgin Abbreviated Hours of the Days of the Week
ff.120-212, eleven quaternions and one binion	Masses for the Days of the Week Ordinary and Canon of the Mass Masses for various feasts



ff.213-222, one binion  
and one ternion

Prayers: 'Dulcissime  
yhu xpe domine verus  
deus...'

ff.223-278, seven  
quaternions

Office of the Dead  
Seven Penitential Psalms  
Litany

ff.279-348, eight  
quaternions and one  
binion (+ inserted  
folios 295 and 296)

Prayers at the end  
of the Litany  
Extracts from the  
Gospels on the  
Passion of Christ

ff.349-375, three  
quaternions and one  
ternion

Benedictions

The composition, catchwords and absence of blanks would all seem to indicate that ff.223-348 was the continuous work of one scribe, in fact from f.279 onwards the ruling pattern, ink and script change. Although with this regular littera formata it is difficult to be certain, the following sections of text seem to belong together as the work of different scribes:

- (i) Calendar, ff.15-119 and ff.223-278
- (ii) ff.120-222
- (iii) Contents list and ff.279-375<sup>12</sup>

### Decoration and illustration

The scheme of decoration for which the scribes made allowance is much more restricted than that of Latin 757 and does not follow a comparable or consistent hierarchy of forms. Only in the Office of the Virgin is there a similar extent and ordering of decoration; here each Hour is preceded by a full-page miniature,

for which the scribe allowed only one side of a folio, and opens with an initial four to seven lines high. These initials are, with one exception, historiated and have full-page borders springing from them. Prayers and hymns open with initials two lines high and spaces were left for one-line text initials. It is not possible to say what was the original intention for the opening of the Propers of the Office of the Virgin, f.62. The preceding folio is an addition joined to f.64, with miniatures painted by the Master of the Birago Hours, but the old foliation took into account a folio 61. The Propers open oddly, with a miniature in a space left above seven lines of text; this miniature and the full-page border were both painted by the Master of the Birago Hours but there are signs of erasure. A blank side, f.79, was left for a miniature before the opening of 'O Intemerata...' on f.79v., and another on f.84 to precede the opening of the Seven Joys of the Virgin on f.84v. But both of these open with a foliate initial only two lines high. The next devotions, and still within the same continuous section of text, are the Abbreviated Hours for the Days of the Week, f.89v.-118. One side was left blank for a miniature on f.89 and each Hour opens with an historiated initial, four to six lines high, and a full-page border. That for Monday, the Office of the Dead, has historiated initials and borders to

open Vespers, f.92, Matins, f.95 and Lauds, f.100, and the prayer 'Procunctis fidelibus' on f.103v.

In the next section of text, ff.120-212v., Masses for the Days of the Week, the Ordinary and Canon of the Mass and Masses for the Feasts, the only illustration allowed for is the full-page Canonical miniature, f.168v., which faces a five-line initial for 'Te igitur', with full-page border. All the other texts open with two-line initials only.

In the next section of text a folio was left blank on both recto and verso before the prayer attributed to St Augustine, 'Dulcissime jhesu christe...' on f.214 but the prayer itself opens with an initial only two lines high.

The Office of the Dead opens with a full-page miniature on f.223 and a six-line initial on f.223v. The Seven Penitential Psalms open with a seven-line initial on f.265 and face a blank folio, f.264v., which was left for a miniature which was never painted.

From this point on no allowance was made for large historiated initials. A folio, left blank recto and verso, now carries the later devotional miniature of a couple before the Man of Sorrows on f.285v. which faces the opening of the Extracts from the Gospels on the Passion of Christ. At two other points folios were left blank, presumably to receive miniatures, f.353v. facing the opening of 'Benediction of Candles' and f.359r.

and v. preceding the Benediction of Palms. Neither of these texts was illustrated but the Master of the Birago Hours painted the Presentation in the Temple on f.359, facing the end of the Benediction of Candles at the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin.

To summarise: it can be seen that at the time of writing three different schemes for decoration and illustration were allowed for in the main texts.

- (i) The illustration and text was to be continuous and there was no preference for a miniature to be placed on a verso to face the opening of the text which it was to introduce. This text was usually to open with a large painted initial. This is true of sections ff.15-119 and ff.223-278.
- (ii) There was a preference for the miniature to face the opening of the text that it illustrated, which was not to open with a large painted initial. This is true for ff.213-222, ff.279-348 and ff.349-375.
- (iii) No introductory miniatures or large painted initials were allowed for apart from, what was an almost statutory inclusion, the Canonical miniature and a large initial to introduce 'Te igitur...' of the Canon of the Mass. This is true of ff.120-212.

These differences could be taken as indicative of the works of different scribes and do correspond with

the divisions suggested by composition, script and catchwords. The variety of these schemes and their divergence from the decorative scheme allowed for in Latin 757 suggest that the two manuscripts were not written by the same scribes.

### Planned and additional miniatures

Blank folios at the end of a section of text afforded further opportunities for full-page miniatures before the Masses for the Days of the Week and before the Benediction of Water. These were both used for illumination, f.119v. has a full-page miniature of the Last Supper and f.348v. has a full-page miniature of the Baptism, but this was not necessarily the scribe's intention.

Although the illuminators had no real choice and had to follow the provisions made by the scribes for painted initials, the inclusion of the Betrayal, f.296, on an inserted folio suggests that there was to be some divergence from the plan envisaged by the scribes, even during the first campaign of painting.<sup>13</sup> The manuscript as it survives shows not only this but all the modifications of the subsequent campaigns. The following list of all the full-page miniatures and large initials gives their status and attribution.

### Miniatures

#### Office of the Virgin

f.15 Devotional Miniature	full-page preceding Matins	style of Latin 757
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f.24 Flagellation	full-page preceding Lauds	style of Latin 757
f.34v. Christ before Pilate	full-page preceding Prime	style of Latin 757
f.38 Mocking of Christ	added below text	Master of Birago Hours
f.38v. Carrying of Cross	full-page preceding Tierce	style of Latin 757
f.41v. Nailing to Cross	full-page preceding Sext	style of Latin 757
f.44v. Adoration of Magi	added below text	Belbello da Pavia
f.45 Crucifixion	full-page preceding None	style of Latin 757
f.48v. Deposition	full-page preceding Vespers	style of Latin 757
f.56v. Annunciation to Shepherds	added below text	painted Master of Birago Hours, drawn Belbello
f.57 Entombment	full-page preceding Compline	style of Latin 757

#### Propers of Office of the Virgin

f.61 Christ in Limbo	replacement folio	Master of Birago Hours
f.61v. Resurrection	replacement folio	Master of Birago Hours
f.62 Maries at the tomb	above text, some erasure	Master of Birago Hours

#### O Intemerata

f.79 Virgin of Humility	full-page, over erasure	Master of Birago Hours
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## Seven Joys of the Virgin

f.84 Annunciation	full-page	style of Latin 757
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## Abbreviated Hours for the Days of the Week

f.89 Expulsion from Paradise	full-page over erasure	Master of Birago Hours
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## Masses for the Days of the Week

f.119v. Last Supper	full-page	painted by Master of Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
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## Canon of the Mass

f.168v. Crucifixion	full-page	painted by inept painter drawn in style of Latin 757
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## Mass for the feast of the Magdalene

f.212 Woman drying Christ's feet with her hair	added below end of text	Master of Birago Hours
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## Prayers incl. 'Dulcissime yhs xpe...'

f.213 St Ambrose baptising St Augustine	full-page	painted by Master of Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
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## Office of the Dead

f.223 Funeral service	full-page	painted by Master of Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
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## Gospel Extracts on the Passion

f.285v. Donors presented to Man of Sorrows	full-page	Master of Birago Hours
f.295 Agony in the Garden	inserted folio	Master of Birago Hours
f.296 Betrayal	inserted folio	style of Latin 757

## Benedictions

f.348v. Baptism	full-page	inept painter
f.359 Presentation in Temple	full-page	Master of Birago Hours

Large initials with full-page borders

f.15v. infill of Virgin and Child		style of Latin 757
ff.24v., 35, 39, 42, 45v., infills with half-length saints holding scrolls		style of Latin 757
f.49 infill with Virgin and Child	over erasure	Master of Birago Hours
f.57v. infill with Saint and scroll		style of Latin 757
f.89v. infill with Saint and scroll		painted by collaborator of Master of Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757



f.92 infill of Skeleton	style of Latin 757
f.95 infill of Skull	style of Latin 757
f.100v. infill of bust of praying man	style of Latin 757
f.103 infill of Praying King	style of Latin 757
f.104 infill dove of Holy Spirit	style of Latin 757
f.106v. six half-length	painted by Master of the Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
f.109 infill of half- length Christ	painted by collaborator of Master of Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
f.112 infill with saint	painted by collaborator of Master of Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
f.115 infill with saint and scroll	painted by Master of the Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
f.169 five-line foliate initial 'T'	border artist of Latin 757
f.224 infill of Skeleton	painted by Master of the Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757
f.265 infill with King David in Sea	painted by Master of the Birago Hours drawn in style of Latin 757

### First and subsequent patrons

Two of the decorative devices which appear in the borders of both periods (ills 73 and 79) are the emblems found in the decoration of Latin 757. Furthermore on f.15v. (ill. 67) the border contains the same coat of arms, azure a lion rampant argent, as that on f.383v. of Latin 757. The portrait on f.15 (ill. 66) of a donor, here presented by St Catherine, St Anthony Abbot and St Christopher to a Virgin of Humility, has the same profile and facial characteristics as that on f.109v. of Latin 757. The only notable difference is the hair, the donor in Smith-Lesouëf 22 is wearing it shorter and he is balder. In both manuscripts the donor is shown wearing red from head to foot, presumably an allusion to his family name. Smith-Lesouëf 22 was probably started for Bertrando de' Rossi to be a portable version of the texts combined in Latin 757, a manuscrit-de-luxe for use in the patron's private chapel.

This identification of the patron of this manuscript is confirmed by the devotional miniature painted on f.285v. (ill. 80) by the Master of the Birago Hours. The kneeling man before the Man of Sorrows wears a red tunic and mi-parti hose of blue and white. On the sleeve of his tunic is a monogram, a superimposed P M R, and an emblem of interlocked hearts. These are two of the devices of Pier Maria Rossi, the grandson of

Bertrando de' Rossi.<sup>14</sup> The woman accompanying Pier Maria in this miniature looks very like his mistress Bianca Pellegrini as she is portrayed in frescoes attributed to Bonifacio or Benedetto Bembo from the Camera d'oro of Torrechiara, the castello built for her by Pier Maria.<sup>15</sup> It seems that the unfinished manuscript remained in the possession of the de' Rossi family and Pier Maria had its illumination completed in the middle of the fifteenth century by an illuminator working for the Sforza court.

MODENA, BIBLIOTECA ESTENSE, MS  $\infty$  S.2.31 (LAT.862)

This is another Book of Hours whose illustration is clearly in two distinct styles (ills 83-93). Again the earliest painting seems to have been carried out in the workshop responsible for painting Latin 757. Both of the border styles of Latin 757 are precisely those used in this manuscript, for example style A on f.23 (ill. 87) and style B on f.29 (ill. 88), and the miniatures on ff.2lv., 22 and 37v. (ills 85, 86 and 89) are not only stylistically close to those of Latin 757 in composition, colour and technique but there are specific similarities of detail. The gold ground behind the Angel Gabriel on f.2lv. is punched with the same pattern, and perhaps the same punch, as those of many miniatures in Latin 757 and the building behind the Virgin on f.22 is essentially that of the Annunciation on f.84 of Smith-Lesouëf 22 (ill. 76).

Apart from these full-page miniatures, the Annunciation double-spread on ff.21v. and 22 (ill. 84), which are folios inserted before the opening of the Office of the Virgin according to the Use of St Ambrose, and the Nativity on f.37v. (ill. 89) within Matins of that Office, all the painting in the style of Latin 757 is within the gathering ff.23-30. This comprises the historiated initial, of St Ambrose in his study, and the full-page border on f.23 (ill. 87) and three-line-high initials with three-sided borders on ff.23v., 24v., 25v., 26v., 27, 28, 29, 29v., and 30.<sup>16</sup>

Several of the prayers make it clear that this Office of the Virgin was written for a couple: f.67v. 'Omnipotens semper deus famulos tuos et famulas tuas in dextera potentie tue acunctis protege periculis...' and f.75v. '...omnium sanctorum tuorum intercessione placat (?) averte famulos tuos et famulas tuas ab omni adversitate custodi...'. The arms in the border of f.23 (ill. 87) and above the town-gate in the miniature of f.37v. (ill. 89), a gold monogram of Christ against a dark red ground, maybe those of this couple.<sup>17</sup> On f.77 the scribe of this Office, ff.23-77, a continuous section of text on seven quaternions with catchwords, wrote the following colophon:

'Ego mag(ister) Albertolus de porcelis, scripsi civitatis mediolane porte cumane: mcccclxxxiii'.

Amongst the recipes collected by Iohannes Alcherius was one for ink, which he was given by a scribe and

teacher of writing in Milan in 1382. This scribe, Alberto de Porcellis was described as 'perfectissimus in omnibus modus scribendi et formus litterarum'.<sup>18</sup> It is easy to concur with this judgement faced with this fine, regular script decorated with controlled but lively flourishes.

None of the other sections of the manuscript were written by this scribe nor perhaps in close collaboration with him. The Gospel Extracts, ff.13-18 and ff.79-107v., Office of the Cross, Office of the Holy Ghost, Seven Penitential Psalms, Litany and Mass of St Mary, are the other two continuous sections of work and these are written on gatherings differently ruled from the Office of the Virgin.<sup>19</sup> The scribes also made different allowances for decoration and illustration.

In the Office of the Virgin Alberto de Porcellis left folios blank before Tierce, Sext, None, Vespers and Compline to allow for a miniature to face the opening of each Hour, and spaces for an eight-line initial to open each Hour. He also left one folio, f.37v., and the first four lines of f.38 blank; these precede the hymn 'Gloria in excelsis deo...'.<sup>20</sup> Three-line high initials were allowed for the individual elements of an Hour and spaces were left for one-line painted initials in the text. In contrast the Gospel Extracts open with initials only three lines high and the devotions of ff.79-107v. open with initials four lines high, except for f.88 which is five lines high.

In this section text elements open with two-line initials. There was no allowance for full-page miniatures. Perhaps these differences in lay-out and scheme could suggest that these sections of the manuscript were not joined to the Office of the Virgin until after the painting in the style of Latin 757. There is no certain decoration in this style in these two sections: the first has only red or blue painted initials with contrasting flourishes and in the second there are only occasional elements of foliate decoration which echo the forms of Latin 757. The marrying of two distinct pieces of work could account for the extensive cutting from the border of f.23 (ill. 87).

There have been further modifications to these sections of text: prayers have been written, in an irregular cursive hand, on the blank folios which were left at the end of the Office of the Virgin, ff.77-78v., and 'O Intemerata' has been written, in a formal bookhand, on the folios left blank at the end of the Mass of St Mary, ff.108-110v. This prayer, which is in the masculine form only, is written in the same hand as the Calendar and both were presumably written for the cleric shown in the initial of f.72 (ill. 92), the owner of the coat of arms on the first folio of the Calendar, an outstretched eagle above a hand (ill. 83). Since all the representational

elements including the donor portrait and the arms, other than those in the style of Latin 757, are of uniform execution it was presumably this man who had the decoration and illustration brought to completion.<sup>21</sup>

The historiated infills of the initials on ff.43 (ill. 91), 49, 54, 59, 64, 72 (ill. 92), 79, 82v. and 108 (ill. 93) and the arms supported by angels on f.1 (ill. 83) and the angels on f.38 (ill. 90) are all the work of an illuminator whose style has features found in Lombard illumination towards the middle of the fifteenth century.<sup>22</sup> He seems, from the similarity of colours, also to have painted the staves of the initials on ff.79, 82v., 88 and probably 43.

All of the other foliate decoration, the borders from the historiated initials and the two-line initials seem to be the work of another artist of the mid-fifteenth century and painted in a different range of colours.<sup>23</sup> The three-line initials with sprays on ff.31-38 (ill. 90), the spray from the historiated initial on f.43 (ill. 91) and the three-line initial on f.43v. all appear to have been painted by this later painter in his customary range of colours but following the precise forms of style B of Latin 757, except for the initial on f.31 which is of style A. It seems likely that this manuscript, like Smith-Lesouëf 22, was at different levels of completion when the workshop of Latin 757 stopped working on it and that

these decorative elements had been drawn and gilded before the end of the first campaign of painting. Other initials with borders introducing a new devotion reflect elements of this early style, but without adhering to the precise forms, for example f.72 (ill. 92). Maybe these were drawn in the style of Latin 757 but were not gilded; this would account for the combination of style B tendril and terminal forms against straight baguettes of burnished gold on ff.49, 64 and 72 rather than the usual indented and cusped ground of ff.30-39. The fact that on the added text of 'O Intemerata...', f.108 (ill. 93), the illuminator of the later style paints a much simpler and non-foliate type of initial stave may be support for the view that most of the foliate decoration of the border pages was based upon earlier drawing.

After f.43v. all the three-line initials are of much more restricted and conventional forms and appear to owe nothing to the style of Latin 757. They are painted in the same colours and finish as the initials on folios 30-39.

The one-line initials throughout the book are of a uniform type, gold staves against a ground of blue with a dark pink infill decorated with white. These seem likely to belong to the second campaign. We shall see that the one-line text initials were, where the evidence has survived, one of the last decorative



elements to be painted on a page.<sup>24</sup>

Even though so little of the manuscript was painted by the workshop of Latin 757 it is this early work that makes the stronger impression. Although the later illustration is polished and attractive it is more restricted in scale and materials than the early illustration. It is easy to understand why with its lavish use of gold and full-page miniatures, one even spread over two folios, the early decoration prompted a subsequent owner to have the manuscript completed for his own use and enjoyment.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, FRANÇAIS 343

This is the only other surviving work where the determining style of painting was that of Latin 757 (ills 94 - 109). Although known as Lancelot du lac, fr.343 is made up of fourteen quaternions which are fragments, two, ff.1-56v. and ff.57-104v., from la Queste du Saint Graal and ff.105-112v. from la Mort Artu.<sup>25</sup> Its illustration and decoration was left unfinished and remains so.

The decoration was left at different stages of completion throughout the manuscript; only in one gathering, ff.9-16, were all the decorative elements provided. As usual the extent of the decoration was determined by the scribe. Two-line high initials were allowed for each paragraph opening and where these were painted they are alternately blue or gold with

contrasting decoration of red or violet to provide ground, infill and flourish into the margin. Gaps were left for initials of 9 to 13 lines for each chapter. Where these were painted they are of type A of Latin 757 but, except for that on f.9v., with a yellow rather than a burnished gold ground for the infill. Folio 1 was to open with a fifteen-line initial which has been drawn but not painted. The initial contained a bust of the author and the outlines of a border of style A forms has been drawn. Two shields were included in the corners of the lower margin but unfortunately the arms have not been drawn.<sup>26</sup> Spaces were left within the text to receive illustrations; these could be either at the top, bottom or in the middle and are the width of one or both columns of text. Although not all of these miniatures have been painted, wherever a space was left the illustration has been drawn, often extending beyond the area left within the text justification and into the margins.<sup>27</sup>

Their positioning and function, as part of the narrative, cause these illustrations to be treated differently from the miniatures discussed so far which are usually no more than a decorative adjunct to the devotional texts. The illustrations of fr.343 are not framed and have no decorative ground; usually there is no defined limit to the picture field apart from the lines of text or folio edge and the protagonists

and buildings stand on a fairly shallow ground plane, silhouetted against blank parchment. In these scenes burnished metals are used descriptively to render metal objects, rather than having a more decorative function. These differences in treatment do not however disguise the fundamental affinity of some of these illustrations with those in Latin 757, Smith-Lesouëf 22 and Modena, Bibl. Estense, Latin 862. The painting on ff.1, 1v., 2, 3, 3v., 4, 4v., 6, 7, 9, 10, 10v., 11v., 12, 13, 13v., 14, 15v., 17, 17v., 18, 19, 23v., 24, 25v., 26v., 27, 27v., 30v., 31v., 32, 32v., 33, 33v., 34, 36, 36v., 37, 40v., 49v., 50, 56, 56v., 81, 81v., 86v., 106, 111v. and 112v. all appears to have originated in the workshop responsible for Latin 757 (ills 94-98 and 100-103).

The colours used are again restricted and unvaried, the dull pink, golden yellow, violet, rich blue, mid green and scarlet used for clothing in the miniatures of the Books of Hours are seen again here, and buildings are most commonly the same dark salmon pink. There is the same variety and detail in architectural forms contrasting with the relative lack of interest in natural outdoor settings that we saw in Latin 757: the ground plane is painted with the same variation in type as in Latin 757 and again, rather than the elaboration for its own sake that is evident in buildings, landscape is usually shown as a flat strip, unless the incident depicted requires a more complicated setting.<sup>28</sup>

The knights, hermits and ladies from these pages are obviously members of the same family as the saints of Latin 757 and are similarly painted with a red-brown contour to flesh. Occasionally they seem even to represent the same member of that family, for example the profile figure of a young lady with loose, long hair on f.258 (ill. 28) of Latin 757 reappears on f.27 of fr.343 (for illustration see Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig.325). As with the figures, so with the buildings, livestock and fabrics: the chapel on f.19 (ill. 98) of fr.343 has the same roof with gables as f.224v. (ill. 20) of Latin 757; the foremost horse on f.18 of fr.343 has the same strange face as that on f.79 (ill. 12) of Latin 757 (for illustration of f.18 of fr.343 see dell'Acqua, Arte lombarda..., 1959 pl.38), the lion and dragon on f.27v. (ill. 102) are very like the beasts that figure in the Creation miniatures of Latin 757, ff.49 and 53 (ills 5 and 6), and also ff.296v. and 377 (ills 35 and 46); the yellow fabric with eyes appears frequently (ill. 96), often worn by Arthur, as on f.2. These are all single examples of the procedure, which is evident in the other manuscripts, of the selection and adaptive use of motifs and forms from a consistent repertoire.

These features are also found on some of the folios that are drawn but not painted and the figure types, proportions and settings all relate to the

style of Latin 757: folios 73, 73v., 75v., 76, 76v., 77v., 79, 80v., 83v., 84, 84v., 85v., 107, 109, 110, 110v., 111 and 112 (ills 107, 108 and 109). These drawings are made in brown ink. Firm simple contours define all forms and include details like the pattern of fabrics, buttons and belts and all drapery folds. Hair is shown by the parallel wavy lines that are familiar in pigment in the finished paintings. There is however no indication of shading or modelling beyond the occasional darkening within the embrasure of windows of buildings where all the architectural forms are detailed. The preliminary drawing upon which these confident and continuous lines are based is visible in some of the more complicated compositions. For example on f.109 (ill. 108) a grid of ruled parallel lines, apparently in metal point, corresponds to all the verticals and horizontals of the building and extends beyond the final inked contours. The legs of the three men on the left of this folio obviously presented some problem because faint lines show where alternative positions have been tried. In some cases it seems that the preliminary drawing was merely scored, for example the right arm of the woman on this same folio, but this may be the result of efficient erasure.<sup>29</sup>

If both the drawings and paintings listed above seem securely linked to the style of Latin 757 there are others where there are divergences from this style. In the paintings on ff.8, 8v., 21v., 28v., 29, 34v.,

35v., 39, 42, 43, 43v., 44v., 45, 47, 47v., 48, 48v., 58, 59, 59v., 61v., 62v., 63, 63v., 64, 64v., 72v. and 87v. (ills 99, 104 and 105) flesh is not rendered by the careful building up of pigment within a reddish outline, customary in the style of Latin 757, but is a ruddy pink. There is more reliance on white for highlighting and small strokes of ink are used to shade some pigments. Some of these illustrations do appear to have been drawn in the style of Latin 757, most obviously ff.8, 8v., 21v., 28v., 29, 34v., 35v., and 39, but others seem to have been drawn independently. The faces in these illustrations have less carefully defined features and large rather formless noses; even on those folios, like f.8v., which show every sign of having been drawn in the style of Latin 757 the painting has modified the precise, regular, rather doll-like features. The figures also are of different proportions, taller with smaller heads, the men having broader shoulders. These miniatures also include architectural forms outside the Latin 757 canon. It seems probable therefore that this painting style goes with those drawings which also show these characteristics. These are on ff.65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 70v., 71v., 89, 89v., 91, 92, 92v., 93v., 94v., 96v., 97, 97v., 99v., 100v., 101v., 103, 103v., and 104v. (ill. 106). The process of drawing on these folios seems to have been much the same as for those clearly in the style of Latin 757;

a preliminary composition in metal point and scoring, finalised in brown ink. In these folios, however, the final version is less confident, the lines may be broken, hesitant or even double. There are alterations at the ink stage on some folios, for example f.104v. In this drawing style doorways and window embrasures are always shaded, either with metal point, ff.70, 70v., or ink, f.103v.

There are two obvious alternatives to explain the presence of these two styles in this unfinished manuscript: one would be that, after the manuscript was abandoned by the artist or artists working in the style of Latin 757, another illuminator undertook work on it and painted some of those illustrations already drawn and also drew other fresh compositions. Alternatively, a collaborator may have been working with the painter or painters of the style of Latin 757 during the first campaign of illustration.

This second alternative is perhaps the more likely for, in Smith-Lesouëf 22 and Modena, Bibl. Estense, Latin 862, although the earliest campaign of painting cannot be said to have moved systematically from one completed folio to the next, there was more or less a progression from the beginning of the book. The progress of painting was certainly more orderly than would have been the case if work in the style of Latin 757 in fr.343 is separated from that of what appears to be the collaborator: only two sides would

have remained unpainted in the first gathering, one in the third, two in the fourth, three in the fifth, and then whole gatherings would have been left with no work done in them whilst others were fully drawn. It may also be significant that the early gatherings with illustrations painted in the style of the collaborator contain decorative work usually carried out subsequent to the completion of the illustrative stage, the drawing for the large foliate initials and painting of flourish initials.

Furthermore, there is an inextricable mixing of these two styles that makes it seem unlikely that they were active at anything other than the same time and place. Whilst there seems to be some consistency of drawing style within a gathering this is not so for the painting, for example f.8 recto and verso and the other half of this bifolio, f.lr. and v., were all drawn in the style of Latin 757 but they were variously painted. Also in two gatherings the attribution is more complicated for, although the painting is that of the collaborator, the drawing has elements of both styles, f.47 (ill. 104) for example where the tree, horse and knights all look consistent with the style of Latin 757 whilst the friar and building do not.<sup>30</sup> It is possible that this is the first work that a new admission to the workshop drew with guidance and supervision.

As there are obvious differences between those illustrations here attributed to a collaborator and



those in the style of Latin 757, so there are small differences in finish and technique between different miniatures of the 757 group. All of the miniatures of the second gathering, ff.9-16, which are in the style of Latin 757, are painted with a careful, precise technique. Clothing, buildings, ground and horses are all coloured with an opaque layer of local colour which is then modelled or shaded with small, fine strokes of a darker tone. Faces are painted beige, which serves as the shadows, and are modelled from salmon pink to white. Features and flesh contours are described with a red-brown contour. Upper eyelids are black although the lower lid and bag beneath the eye are drawn with a brown line. This gathering is exceptional in the care and consistency with which it was painted. In other illustrations in the style of Latin 757 horses, buildings and ground may be painted only with strokes of colour, as on f.36v., and the brush strokes building up flesh-tones may be more obvious. Sometimes eyes are drawn differently, for example on ff.36v., 49v. and 56, and have a shadow instead of a line beneath them. These are, however, only slight modifications within the conventions of the style and it is not possible on this basis to distribute the miniatures amongst different hands.

Although all the manuscripts discussed so far in this chapter were left incomplete by the workshop of

Latin 757 it does seem that at the time when the decoration of these books started the intention was that they should be brought to completion in a more or less uniform style conforming with that of Latin 757. This is not true of the other two manuscripts where painting closely related to that of Latin 757 is found.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, NOUVELLES ACQUISITIONS  
LATINES 1673

This manuscript is a Tacuinum Sanitatis, a catalogue of the properties of plants, foods, winds, seasons and activities as they affect man.<sup>31</sup> In this illustrated form their usefulness as an aid to maintaining health must have been a secondary consideration to their function as an enjoyable picture-book of contemporary everyday life. In this Paris example particularly, greater attention is shown to rendering the costume of the courtly figures or the complicated decorative elements of the interior settings, often emphasized by being picked out in black, than is paid to the substance which is ostensibly the subject of the picture.

The miniatures are uniformly animated and attractive although the execution is very variable in quality.<sup>32</sup> Few are highly finished and often the colour range is very restricted, greens for the plants

and trees, and pink and blue or red and blue for clothing. Some scenes were drawn with more care and detail than they were painted and look as though these tasks were carried out by different artists. Even though the scenes have many features drawn in common the differences in the styles of painting are sufficiently obvious to enable a distribution of some folios amongst distinct artistic personalities.<sup>33</sup> Amongst these there are eight illustrations which are in the style of Latin 757. These are amongst the finest paintings in the book and the most accomplished work of the whole style.

The eight illustrations, Animalia castrata on f.65 (ill. 110), Gelatina on f.65v., Fasiani on f.67 (ill. 111), Perdices on f.67v., Turtures on f.70, Grues on f.70v., Aviculi ut durdi et similia on f.72 and Conturnices on f.72v., are all on the sides of two bifolios within the ninth gathering. Both painting and drawing are consistent with the style of Latin 757, although in this manuscript there is a less forceful impact of colour. No burnished metals are used and pigment is applied more sparingly. Colours are less saturated than in the manuscripts discussed hereto and comprise rather distinctive pastel tones of green, pink, blue, lilac, yellow and a thin brown, with black and white used for pattern and linens. The figures and facial types are slightly more generalised than

most of those in Latin 757 and are consequently more realistic. Nonetheless they are drawn and painted within the same conventions: general similarities of technique are found in the red-brown contour to flesh, the V-shaped brow furrow and double-branched highlight of the nose, (ill. 110), red shading beside nostrils, salmon pink or lilac buildings. Once more there is a yellow fabric with a pattern of eyes; here worn in the mi-parti doublet of the falconer on f.72v.

The buildings in these illustrations are more restrained than those throughout the rest of the manuscript and it seems unlikely that these folios were drawn by the artist or artists responsible for the others. There is no obvious explanation of how an artist working in the style of Latin 757 came to execute only eight illustrations of the two hundred and six in this manuscript. The fact that they are all contained within two bifolios may suggest that bifolios or gatherings were shared out amongst individual illuminators. Such a distribution would be compatible with the appearance of the work in some other gatherings, for example ff.33-40 where the three outer bifolios seem to be painted in a uniform technique and the innermost, ff.36 and 37, seems to have been painted in another and distinct style, but it is not true throughout the manuscript.<sup>34</sup>

Some of the folios of the gathering containing work in the style of Latin 757 have small roman numerals in the bottom left corner level with the text. Where these survive, on ff.66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 71v., 72 and 72v., they correspond with their position as a page of this gathering. Such numbers were either not written or do not survive, for any other folio of the manuscript.

There is no clear evidence to show that these folios were not some sort of shop sample later expanded to a complete copy or work started in the workshop of Latin 757 and completed elsewhere, yet it seems most probable that these folios represent the part played by a fine artist from the shop of Latin 757 in a corporate effort of production by several contemporary illuminators.

PARIS, BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, LATIN 8045

The other manuscript which contains work in the style of Latin 757 is a much more modest book than the lavishly and extensively decorated manuscripts so far discussed and, like the Tacuinum Sanitatis, also contains decoration in styles not obviously related to the style of Latin 757.

This copy of Lucan's De Bello Civile with the gloss of Zoni fiorentini has painted initials to introduce each book.<sup>35</sup> Most are foliate only but one on f.1 and two on f.2 (ill. 111, 112) contain figures. Of all this painting only the initials and the border on f.2 bear

any close relation to the painting of Latin 757. The seated figure (Lucan?) is placed against a diapered blue and gold background like some in Latin 757, for example f.35lv. (ill. 41), and Smith-Lesouëf 22, for example f.24 (ill. 68). The palette, the acanthus leaves and occasional kite-shaped terminals all link the decoration with that of Latin 757. Neither the initial staves nor the border forms, however, are exactly those of the styles of Latin 757 but are rather a hybrid mixture of features from styles A and B. This folio, as could be expected for the opening of Lucan's text, is more extensively and carefully decorated than any of the others and the lower half of the initial 'B' contains the arms, badly abraded, of the original owner.<sup>36</sup> It is also signed: between the two columns of the text of the gloss an inscription of burnished gold on bole reads 'Iohes de castano pixit'.

None of the other painted foliate initials in the manuscript are of the same type as these, nor are they uniform. Those on ff.30, 55, 77v., 104v., 130v., 159v. and 189 are very similar but the others are less obviously related either to this large group or to each other. Apart from the shades of green employed, however, the same colours are used in all the initials and the same decorative details appear, regardless of the type of foliage which forms the initial staves: all are placed against a burnished gold ground and have foliate terminals extending into

the margin; there is a frequent use of sprays of kite-shapes which, like those in Latin 757, are usually decorated with a white rib and two white circles; the black outlines of the gilded forms may have white dots on them and some leaves have white decoration of a circle surrounded by four dots. Although, overall, f.2 gives an impression of being quite divorced from the styles of the other initials, it does share these decorative details. The great difference between f.2 and the other initial-bearing folios is in the extent and care of this painted decoration. On f.2 the leaf-forms are modelled up to white although, as is common, it has oxidised on the red lead: elsewhere foliage is shown by a local colour shaded with a darker glaze on one edge and a white line on the opposite one. These treatments of foliage forms are, however, alternatives found in Latin 757 and it may be that all of the initials in this manuscript were painted by an illuminator who had worked elsewhere in a more thorough-going version of the style of Latin 757. It is not clear whether this illuminator was Iohannes de Castagno, for the signature with its surrounding flourishes seems to belong with the flourish initials of red and blue with their contrasting flourishes of lilac and red. These may not be the work of the illuminator who painted the historiated and foliate initials.<sup>37</sup>

The questions raised by this copy of Lucan's De Bello Civile, about the association of decoration of a less accomplished level with that found in the extensively illustrated manuscripts-de-luxe of the style of Latin 757, are echoed by a group of more humble copies of the same text. These manuscripts are

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. Latin 68;

London, B.L., Harley 2532;

Madrid, Bibl. Nac., ms. 601;

Paris, B.N., Latin 8042;

Paris, B.N., Latin 8043.

All are illustrated with initials which have only a loose resemblance to the forms of the initials of the Latin 757 group of manuscripts but close similarities can be found in decorative details. This is particularly the case in Latin 8043 of the B.N., the most carefully finished of this group.<sup>38</sup>

None of these books incorporates any identifying mark of its original owner<sup>39</sup> and it is possible that they were speculative productions painted by an artist or artists who had worked on the more opulent and highly finished books painted in the style of Latin 757.<sup>40</sup>

MUNICH, BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK, LATIN 23215

No other manuscripts have been recognised as including painted decoration so closely related to that of Latin 757 that they could be classed as of



the same style and the work of the same artists.<sup>41</sup> Nonetheless, the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich Bayerische Staatsbibliothek Latin 23215, (ills 113-159), has obvious affinities in forms, motifs, layout and general stylistic features, although the overall appearance and effect of the borders and miniatures are significantly different.

Most of the full-page miniatures have a basamento-like area beneath the picture field, containing a quatrefoil, often with a bust of a prophet or saint, and acanthus scrolls: this format is also used for the full-page miniatures of Modena, Bibl. Estense, Latin 862. The sprays from the corners of the miniature frame, although less elegant and controlled and with trefoil terminals rather than gold disks and kite-shapes, are essentially the same decorative device as those in Latin 757 and the Modena manuscript. Similarly, two of the border styles in the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, one of the acanthus scrolls and wheat-ear terminals, as f.34 (ill. 121), and another of more restricted leaves and tendrils placed against a burnished gold ground, with sprays with kite-shaped terminals into the margin, as f.53 (ill. 125), are less accomplished versions of styles A and B of Latin 757 and Modena Bibl. Estense, Latin 862. There are also general similarities in the organisation of the picture; interior scenes are set within a box, the

front wall of which, parallel to the picture plane, has been removed: the view inside is seen through an arch formed by a column or corbel at each side and an entablature, or battlemented balustrade. A strip of patterned ground is visible above (ills 128, 136, 139 and 144). Many miniatures have a diapered or chequered ground of blue and burnished gold (ills 123, 124, 147 and 165) like those of Latin 757, the Modena manuscript and Smith-Lesouëf 22.

More specific similarities can be seen in the compositions and in figures within the miniatures: St Michael vanquishing the devil, f.357v. (ill. 42) of Latin 757 and f.20lv. (ill. 152) of Munich Latin 23215, are almost exact replicas of each other; the temple in the Expulsion of Joachim, f.26v. (ill. 118) of Munich Latin 23215, is a more rational representation of the baptistery where St Ambrose baptises St Augustine, f.224v. (ill. 20) of Latin 757; the building and the kneeling figure of Gabriel in the Annunciation, f.65v. (ill. 127) of Munich Latin 23215, are like those on f.22 (ill. 86) of Modena Bibl. Estense, Latin 862; the figure of the crucified Christ on f.156v. (ill. 147) of the Munich manuscript is very close to that on f.82 (ill. 13) of Latin 757.

In spite of these obvious and definite links between this manuscript and those painted in the style of Latin 757 there are also such fundamental differences that it seems impossible to consider this manuscript

as having been produced, even some years earlier, by the same artist or artists. Perhaps the most immediately apparent differences are in colour and figure style. The Munich manuscript is not painted with the clear, bright colours so striking in Latin 757, and the figures are, on the whole, more solid, stocky and bulky forms. Where they show, the men in the Munich manuscript have notably thick legs. The folds of long robes are shown falling into more compact forms, more descriptive of the body beneath than the more angular and decorative complexity of drapery in Latin 757. This formal containment is accompanied by a restraint in movement and emotion in comparison with the often agitated, emotionally and physically, figures of Latin 757, for example in the scenes of the Stoning of St Stephen in each manuscript (ills 32 and 157). Unlike the distinctive facial types of Latin 757, faces tend to be smooth and oval in outline with heavy cheeks, small straight noses and eyes rather close together.

As well as these stylistic variations the miniatures in the Munich Hours show quite different interests and intentions on the part of the designer from those characteristic of the style of Latin 757. There is much less concern to show a complicated and varied architectural setting housing the protagonists: in the Munich miniatures the implied interiors usually

form a centrally-viewed set placed behind the action (ills 140, 144 and 136). Only rarely do the side walls extend to the picture plane (ill. 122). Unlike Latin 757 none of these structures has a patterned, tiled floor. Conversely, the exteriors in the Munich manuscript are often more involved and interesting than those of Latin 757. Several scenes show distant hills with buildings and trees placed upon them, although such inclusions are quite superfluous to the narrative (ills 123, 124 and 150). This greater interest in exterior rather than interior settings is the reverse of the preference shown in the miniatures of Latin 757.

These similarities and differences make it seem likely that the two styles of illumination should be seen as the products of artistic personalities who, though distinct, worked not only within the same conventions of composition but also had access to the same repertoire of forms.

### Writing and text

This manuscript is made up of the texts fundamental to a Book of Hours which, from the composition and catchwords, seem to have been written originally as three blocks of text:

seven regular quaternions,  
now ff.1 and 8-63v.,

with the Office  
of the Virgin and  
blanks ff.58v.-63v.;

seven regular quaternions,  
now ff.66-132v.,

with the variants  
for the Office of  
the Virgin and  
blanks ff.130-132v.;

twelve regular quaternions,  
now ff.135-236v., and a  
binion, ff.238-241v.,

with the Office of  
the Cross ff.135-169v.,  
the Office of the  
Dead, ff.171-212, the  
Seven Penitential  
Psalms, ff.215-224,  
the Litany, ff.227-  
236, Prayers, ff.236v.-  
240v., and blanks  
recto and verso of  
f.241.

The script throughout these three sections of text appears to be uniform and changes from this script<sup>42</sup> make it obvious that various prayers were added to these major devotions, sometimes on the blanks left at the end of the last gathering of one block of work, as ff.58v.-63v., ff.130-132v. and ff.241-241v., and sometimes on blanks left for miniatures, ff.212v.-213v. Where necessary these prayers have been continued on to inserted folios, ff.64, 133-134 and 214.<sup>43</sup> These additions were one element of the personalisation of an originally rather basic collection of devotions. They are not only specific to the patron in function, including a prayer for the soul of her dead husband on f.212, but she is named in them: 'Obsecro te...' on f.63v. includes the line 'michi peccatrici indigne famule tue blanche...' and on f.241, in the prayer

beginning 'Omnipotens sempiterne et misericors deus...', occurs the line 'co(n)cede peccatrici famule tue Blanche...'.<sup>43</sup>

Combined with the heraldic inclusions this name allowed the identification of Blanche of Savoy, wife of Galeazzo II Visconti as the owner for whom these alterations were made.<sup>44</sup>

A less personal, or even explicable addition is the Calendar of six folios inserted between the first and second folios of the first gathering of the Office of the Virgin. This calendar, (ill. 113) appears to have been written by an English scribe and includes many English saints.<sup>45</sup>

#### Decoration and illustration

The modification to the text appears inconsequential when compared with the departure from the illustrative scheme envisaged at the time of writing.

There was, as usual, little opportunity for the illuminators to depart from the number or the size of the painted initials allowed for by the scribe. One-line capitals throughout the text are alternately blue with red flourishes and gold with lilac flourishes (ill. 125). Individual text elements open with initials, usually of three-lines height, from which three-sided borders spring. The border types, with one exception,<sup>46</sup> are the same as the full-page borders which spring from the large initial introducing each new devotion.

Apart from the initial which opens the Office of the Virgin, on f.9 (ill. 115), which is of ten lines, and that for the Litany, on f.227 (ill. 156), of eight lines, these initials are usually five, six or seven lines high. Most contain an emblematic infill.<sup>47</sup> The full-page borders on the folios where a new devotion opens are very similar to style B of Latin 757, which is the more common border style in Modena Bibl. Estense, Latin 862. Only one of the full-page borders, f.34 (ill. 121), and the three-sided borders of ff.31v.-35 are of style A. There is in addition, in the first folios, a style of border unlike either of those of Latin 757: it is composed of bar-like knotted and curving tendrils and narrow leaves. This is the style of the part borders on ff.9v.-14v. (ill. 116) and the full-page borders of ff.9 and 27 (ills 115 and 119). It is clear that all borders, whether full-page or partial, in the second, ff.15-22, third, ff.23-30, and what would be the fourth gathering if it were correctly positioned, ff.39-46, have been altered from their original design to the type of border close to style B of Latin 757. Where it is possible to see the type of border originally drawn, it is of the forms of ff.9 and 27. This is quite clear on folio 16v. (ill. 117). The next gathering, now misplaced and ff.31-38, shows no signs of alteration but is decorated with borders close to style A of Latin 757. There are no obvious alterations in any other gatherings.

Both initials and borders include the arms and devices of the original owners: a coat of arms showing Savoy impaled by Visconti, eg. ff.16v. and 34 (ills 117 and 121), Visconti arms with the monogram GZ, eg. ff.53 and 100v. (ills 125 and 131) and the arms of Savoy, eg. ff.9 and 111v. (ills 115 and 133). An emblem with a lion lying in flames and wearing a helmet with a crest, where an indecipherable motto is written in white on black stripes, is painted several times, eg. f.135 (ill. 143). The lion holds a branch from which buckets hang; these branches with hanging buckets appear on their own on f.121v. (ill. 136). These arms and emblems indicate that the manuscript was intended for the parents of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Galeazzo II and his wife Blanche of Savoy, whose name appears in the added prayers.<sup>48</sup>

When the three original sections of text were written blank folios were left to allow a full-page miniature to face the opening of each canonical hour, except for Lauds of both the Office of the Virgin and the Office of the Cross,<sup>49</sup> and for a single introductory miniature each for the Office of the Dead and the Seven Penitential Psalms. This would have provided a total of sixteen full-page miniatures; of these neither the miniature for Compline of the Office of the Virgin, f.52v., nor one on f.213v. were painted, although both folios were ruled for a miniature. In fact the manuscript contains thirty-five full-page miniatures,



ON  
 twenty-one<sup>00</sup> inserted folios. These are as follows.

f.8v. Annunciation		faces Matins, Office of the Virgin
f.26v. Expulsion of Joachim from the temple		faces Prime, Office of the Virgin
f.33v. Meeting at the Golden Gate		faces None, Office of the Virgin
f.37v. Birth of the Virgin		faces Vespers, Office of the Virgin
f.39v. Joachim and the shepherds		faces Tierce, Office of the Virgin
f.44v. Annunciation to Joachim		faces Sext, Office of the Virgin
f.61 Death of the Virgin	an inserted folio	in added prayers to the Virgin
f.65v. Annunciation	an inserted bifolio (?)	faces variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.72v. Marriage of the Virgin	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.75v. Christ teaching Doctors	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.88v. Baptism of Christ	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.103v. Nativity	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.111v. Annunciation to the shepherds	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.116 Journey of the Magi	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin

f.120v. Mounting of the Magi	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.121v. Adoration of the Magi	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.123 Dream of the Magi	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.126v. Miracle of water into wine	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.128 Presentation in the temple	an inserted folio	in the variants of the Office of the Virgin
f.134v. Betrayal	an inserted bifolio	faces Matins, Office of the Cross
f.144v. Christ before Caiaphas		faces Prime, Office of the Cross
f.148v. Christ before Pilate		faces Tierce, Office of the Cross
f.152v. Nailing to the Cross		faces Sext, Office of the Cross
f.156v. Crucifixion		faces None, Office of the Cross
160v. Deposition		faces Vespers Office of the Cross
f.165v. Entombment of Christ		faces Compline Office of the Cross
f.170v. Funeral service		faces Vespers Office of the Dead
f.178v. Three living and three dead	an inserted folio	faces Matins Office of the Dead

f.201v. St Michael	an inserted folio	faces Lauds Office of the Dead
f.214v. Resurrection of the Dead	an inserted folio	faces Seven Penitential Psalms
f.225v. Ascension	an inserted folio	faces a blank
f.226v. Adoration of Enthroned Christ	an inserted folio	faces Litany
f.228v. Stoning of St Stephen	an inserted folio	faces the list of martyrs in the Litany, (of which Stephen is the first)
f.237v. St Augustine offering his heart	an inserted folio	in the prayers of St Augustine
f.242 Pentecost	an inserted folio	at the end of the prayer for Blanche and her son Giangaleazzo, Count of Virtue

Compared with other Books of Hours the marrying of illustration to text is unusually ill-matched: only the Passion cycle introducing the hours of the Office of the Cross and the Funeral Service introducing the Office of the Dead are completely appropriate. The illustration of the Office of the Virgin opens with an Annunciation, the most commonly employed subject for this position, but for the rest of the Office the illustrations switch to a cycle of the Virgin's parents, Joachim and Anne.<sup>51</sup>

Although some of the inserted miniatures are related to the adjacent text, for example the Stoning

of St Stephen, others seem more arbitrarily placed and do not even form a consecutive narrative sequence.<sup>52</sup> Even if the position of the miniatures as they are now bound does not reflect that anticipated at the time the cycle was devised there could have been no rationally satisfying system, either on the grounds of subject relevance or decorative coherence, of integrating these miniatures with the text. Inevitably the bulk of this narrative sequence would have had to be placed within the text between the end of the Office of the Virgin and the beginning of the Office of the Cross. This contains the variants for the Office of the Virgin for Advent. Where no full-page miniatures were planned at the time of writing there was no reason for the scribe to make sure that a new devotion opened on a verso. Consequently it was not invariably possible for added miniatures to face the sides with large painted initials and full-page borders. In fact only those inserted miniatures on ff.65v., 88v., 178v., 201v., 214v. and 226v. do face major text openings. There are five instances where large initials are on a recto but no miniature was placed to face them and there are thirteen miniatures which were inserted without any apparent concern to place them near to a text opening.<sup>53</sup>

Although much of this could reflect the binder's and not the illuminator's understanding of the programme, it seems unlikely that the miniatures were ever intended to mark major text divisions, since there are twenty-one

inserted miniatures and only fifteen text openings where the scribe allowed for a large painted initial but not a miniature.

The prime concern with these miniatures would appear to have been their number rather than their relevance or position. But it is likely that the subject matter of some of the more unusual inclusions had a relevance for their intended owner if not to the surrounding text: the odd sequence of scenes from the Journey of the Magi seems likely to be related to the annual celebration in honour of the Magi put on by the Confraternità dei Magi attached to the church of S. Eustorgio in Milan. Blanche of Savoy and her son Giangaleazzo were both benefactors of this confraternity.<sup>54</sup>

An inscription on f.lv., apparently the first folio of the first gathering of the Office of the Virgin, seems to identify the man responsible for this organisation and augmentation of the illustrative programme:

'Johan(n)es filius mag(ist)ri benedicti de cumis  
me pinxit et ordinavit Ora voce pia pro me Virgo  
Maria.'

Whilst it is credible that many of these miniatures are painted by the same hand and the considerable variation in quality depends on the care with which they were executed, a few miniatures look very different from the rest.

Most miniatures, amongst the most successful ff.37v.

and 72v. (ills 122 and 128), show flesh with contours of brown, often a red-brown, around a beige under-paint or bare parchment which serves as mid-tone. The faces of young people are modelled by having patches of orange at either side of the nose, the far side of the forehead and at the edges of the neck. High-lights are made up of small strokes of white paint. Age or expression are shown by brown lines for wrinkles.

Paint is applied much more thinly than in the other miniatures in the Expulsion of Joachim on f.26v. (ill. 118), although with a great attention to detail like the marbling of the blue steps and the green columns. Faces have neither orange patches nor heavy brown lines and lips are shown as red lines. The busts of saints in the initial infills of ff.27 and 34 (ills 119 and 121) are in the same style as this miniature. It is however only in the difference of handling that this miniature can be isolated from the others and there are obvious parallels in drapery style and figure type with ff.33v., 103v. and 128 (ills 120, 132 and 140). Similarly other miniatures, for example the Annunciation on f.65v. (ill. 127), with a more involved and decorative drapery style and a less stocky, more elegant, figure style, show other departures from the general characteristics of the majority of the miniatures in this manuscript, but there are always common features which link the miniatures not only to one another but also to the

style of Latin 757. Nonetheless, even if it is accepted that Giovanni di Benedetto da Como was responsible for painting the miniatures of the Munich manuscript none of the livelier, more refined miniatures in the style of Latin 757 can convincingly be attributed to him. An alternative explanation is needed for the connections between the two styles of illumination.

Having established a stylistic relationship between these manuscripts and Latin 757, the next chapter will cover the chronological relationships within the group and the development, or modification of this style of illumination.

### Notes to Chapter 3

1. Hereafter this manuscript will be referred to only by its newer number, Latin 862.
2. See catalogue entries for a summary description and the bibliography for each manuscript.
3. Smith-Lesouëf 22 differs from Latin 757 by omitting the Offices of St Catherine, St John the Baptist, St Anthony and St Nicholas and the Office of the Passion. It has fewer masses for the feasts and fewer and different Benedictions. V. Leroquais, Supplément aux livres d'heures manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Nationale à Paris (acquisitions recentes et donation Smith-Lesouëf), (Mâcon, 1943) pp.10-13, suggested that Smith-Lesouëf 22 was copied from Latin 757 but the relationship between the two does not appear to be so simple and direct. Not only are there items in Smith-Lesouëf 22 not found in Latin 757, for example the 'Te deum...' after 'O Intemerata...', but the devotions are differently organised, for example in the Office of the Virgin the rubrics usually refer back for the full form of prayer or psalm to Matins in Latin 757, and to Vespers in Smith-Lesouëf 22. For the lists of contents see the catalogue entry.



4. For the attribution of the mid-fifteenth century painting see, J.J.G. Alexander and A.C. de la Mare The Italian Manuscripts in the Library of Major J.R. Abbey, (London, 1969), pp.147- 50.
  
5. Vespers, contained within the regular quaternion, ff.49-56, differs from the rest of the manuscript by having each side decorated with a full-page border. These borders are essentially of the same type as those used with historiated initials in the rest of the early phase of painting but the leaves are smaller and the placing of the sprays appears more controlled and refined. These borders seem to be by the same hand as the first page of Paris, B.N., Latin 11727, Baldo degli Ubaldi's Commentarius in feudorum usus. Compare L. Cogliato Arano, 'Due libri d'ore...', 1970, fig. 5, f.54v. of Smith-Lesouëf 22 with f.1 of Latin 11727 (ill. 82). This decoration is very close to one of the styles which was produced in the shop of Pietro da Pavia, see Ch.6, p.277 and n.37.
  
6. Many folios in the middle of the manuscript were left at different stages of completion at the end of the first campaign of painting. Both sides of each bifolio had reached a uniform level of finish. The following bifolios, recto and verso, had had all decorative elements completed in the early

work carried out by the workshop responsible for Latin 757: 122/127, 123/126, 124/125, 129/136, 130/135, 139/142, 147/150, 162/167, 170/175, 178/183, 179/182, 185/192, 187/190, 188/189. Others are painted according to the colours and forms of the early campaign but would seem to have been left without the black ink-outlining and the white flourishes when the fourteenth-century painting ceased. This seems to have been true of bifolios 108/109, 137/144, 146/151, 148/149, 153/160, 154/159, 155/158, 156/157, 169/176, 171/174, 177/184, 186/191, 193/200 and 201/208. Some of these folios remain unfinished, for example 155r. and v., 156v. and 157. Others have brown ink outlining which is usual on the borders painted by the Master of the Birago Hours. On these folios the fine white scrolls painted to decorate the vertical staves of the initials are also characteristic of the later campaign of painting. It seems, therefore, that the decoration of these folios lacked the outlining and flourishing that would have been done with a pen during the first campaign and that this final feature of the decoration was only added during the later campaign. Even then, not all of the folios were completed. Other folios in this section seem to have been drawn but not painted, see p.82.

7. Alexander and de la Mare, The Italian manuscripts..., 1969, p.149, suggested that Belbello da Pavia, whose work is also found in the Birago Hours, was responsible for the half-page miniatures on ff.44v. and 56v. This seems likely for f.44v. but the Annunciation to the Shepherds on f.56v., whilst the drapery and facial types are those of Belbello, is painted with the same technique and palette as the miniatures by the Master of the Birago Hours and it looks probable that he painted a composition drawn by Belbello. Whilst all the new compositions inserted by the Master of the Birago Hours in the Office of the Virgin augment the narrative sequence of the Passion of the early campaign of painting, those of Belbello's design are subjects from the Infancy of Christ.
8. In the Birago Hours this border is painted by Belbello da Pavia, f.49 of Smith-Lesouëf 22 appears to have been drawn by Belbello but painted by the Master of the Birago Hours. Alexander and de la Mare, The Italian manuscripts..., 1969, pl.LXVIII (a).
9. Alexander and de la Mare, The Italian manuscripts..., 1969, colour plate E(i).

10. There is a note at the foot of f.375v. which is only decipherable in part. 'hic ponat yhs in throno --- in ultima ----'. This is the first of the blank folios at the end of the text of the Benediction of bread and other foods on the feast of the Resurrection. Perhaps at one time the later campaign was to include a Last Judgement miniature to illustrate this text in a way analagous to the miniature of the Purification of the Virgin on f.359, which follows the Benediction of the candles for the feast of the Purification. By comparison of the existing text with the contents list, which is part of the original manuscript and decorated with initials of the first campaign of painting, there is no missing element of text.
11. The littera formata of ff.15-119 is uniform in appearance but on ff.120-212v. the script is slightly more compact and has a more angular appearance. Within this section there is a change in page lay-out and on ff.120-152v. there are sixteen rather than fifteen lines of text. On f.153 the lay-out reverts to the scheme of the earlier folios.
12. Interestingly, the contents list accurately refers to the foliation until it reaches the Passion of St Mark. This is the second item in the block of text written by the scribe of

the contents list. From this point to the end, the foliation given in the contents does not correspond to that of the pages themselves, which are, on the whole, correctly foliated. Since this scribe started writing in the middle of a section of text, on f.279, the preceding sections must have been completed before he began. Perhaps the inaccuracy of foliation in the contents list shows that he wrote the list first, estimating incorrectly the foliation for the sections he had yet to write.

13. It is odd that, when the miniatures planned as an integral part of the manuscript were not completed, an extra one should be. Perhaps this is because it was intended by the illuminators that this should be placed within Matins of the Office of the Virgin to complete the Passion cycle. In Latin 757 the Office of the Virgin opens with a miniature of the Betrayal but this position in Smith-Lesouëf 22 is taken by the devotional miniature, f.15. There are no blank folios within this section of the text and it would therefore be necessary to place an additional subject on an inserted folio. All of the other completed miniatures in the style of Latin 757 are found in the Office of the Virgin or the devotions

following it, the prayer 'O Intemerata...' and The Seven Joys of the Virgin. This folio, f.296, has no early foliation and the early foliation did not allow for its position either in its present position or in the Office of the Virgin.

14. R. Greci, M. di Giovanni Madruzzo and G. Mulazzani, Corti del Rinascimento nella provincia di Parma, (Turin, 1981), pl.157.
15. W. Terni de Gregory, Pittura artigiana lombarda del Rinascimento (Milan, 1981), pp.85 and 88.
16. This manuscript, following Toesca, Monumenti e studi..., 1930, p.36, is usually attributed to Giovanni di Benedetto da Como who signed the fly-leaf of the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich, Staatsbibl., Latin 23215. Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', 1965, p.71, n.7, suggested that the dissimilarities between these two manuscripts were too great to be accounted for by the passage of a few years but she did not go as far as suggesting that the Modena Hours should be seen as a product of the artists at work in Latin 757.
17. It is not possible to say whether or not this is original. This device, although with a crown above it, was used by Filippo Maria Visconti and he bestowed its usage on members of his court. It could be that it had earlier currency around Milan

and was then taken up by Filippo Maria, or that the device was added to the manuscript by a fifteenth-century owner who had been given the use of the device. The dark red ground, like that behind the crested helmet in the initial in-fill on f.58 of Latin 757, and the lack of a crown are in favour of its being an original part of the decoration.

18. Jehan Le Bègue's manuscript, Paris B.N. Latin 6741 includes the recipes collected by Giovanni Alcherio on his travels. M. Merrifield, Original Treatises, Dating from the XIIth to the XVIIIth Centuries on the Arts of Painting, 2 vols (London, 1849), 1, p.4.
  
19. See catalogue entry for ruling patterns.
  
20. Of the planned full-page miniatures allowed for within the text only that preceding 'Gloria in excelsis deo...' was painted. The miniature of the Nativity, which contains a distant group of shepherds in the right background, was painted in the style of Latin 757 on f.37v. (ill. 89) and the group of angels, holding a scroll, and announcing the birth of Christ to these shepherds was painted in the space left at the top of f.38 (ill. 90) by the miniaturist of the second campaign. This composition over a double spread must have been the scribe's intention.

21. The coat-of-arms on f.1 has not so far been identified. The feasts in the calendar include many saints venerated in Milan, for example Dati, archbishop of Milan, Babila, Tecla and Radegund.
22. There are similarities with the style of the Master of the Vitae Imperatorum but with greater simplification of contour and fuller, more rounded forms. The most striking colours used are a dark pink modelled down to a rich crimson and up to white, a dull green modelled down to a glossy dark green and up to yellow, an orange modelled down to a glossy red and up to yellow, and a peacock blue. The grounds to initial in-fills are a clear red or blue or a peacock blue, with white flourish decoration.
23. The initials' artist paints with colours similar to those used by the illuminator of the historiation but with more white mixed with the pigments. The predominant colours are orange, a clear light green, a beige-pink and a mid-blue. They are more likely to be modelled down than up, but when they are modelled up it is to white and not yellow.
24. See Ch.5 on techniques of production.



25. E. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan au XVe siècle (Paris, 1955), p.274, where this manuscript is identified as item 908 of the 1426 inventory of the Visconti Library in the Castello di Pavia. These fragments may have been part of a "post-Vulgate Roman du Graal", as classified by F. Bogdanow, The Romance of the Grail (Manchester, 1966), pp.12-13 and 271.
  
26. The extent of the decoration planned and the use of burnished metals make it unlikely that this was a speculative production.
  
27. See the catalogue entry for a list of the drawn and painted illustrations. Perhaps it is because these fragments were illustrated that they survived.
  
28. Exceptionally on f.27, Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig.325, the forest setting for the temptation of Perceval is shown to have different, if not very accurately drawn varieties of trees and toadstools growing in it.
  
29. In Il libro dell' Arte Cennino Cennini describes how it is possible to draw directly upon parchment, without first pouncing it with powdered bone, if a stylus of two parts lead and one part tin is used. When discussing the use of a leaden stylus on paper, he describes how

erasures may be made with the crumb of bread.

Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, The Craftsman's Handbook. The Italian 'Il Libro dell' Arte', translated by D.V. Thompson (New York, 1954), pp.7-8.

30. Gathering ff.41-48 (illustrations on ff.42, 43, 43v., 44v., 45, 47, 47v., 48 and 48v.) and gathering ff.57-64 (illustrations on ff.58, 59, 59v., 61v., 62v., 63, 63v., 64 and 64v.). Whilst the proportions of the knights in armour seem to be those of the style of Latin 757, the people out of armour have more the proportions of the figures drawn by the collaborator. In the same way, buildings which are clearly part of the repertoire of Latin 757 are used here in conjunction with ones unlike any others to be found in this group of manuscripts, see for example ff.44v. and 45 with the familiar view through the doorway of a church showing the holy water stoup. Fabrics which are part of the repertoire of the style of Latin 757 are used but not in the customary colours; the fabric with eyes, always in yellow in other manuscripts, is pink on f.59 and green on f.59v.
31. This is one of several copies of an illustrated and reduced version of the tabular section of what was originally an Arabic compilation of Ibn Butlan el Bagdadi. E. Wickersheimer, 'Les "Tacuini

Sanitatis" et leur traduction allemande par Michel Herr', Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, 12 (1950), pp.85-97, and L. Delisle, 'Traites d'Hygiene du Moyen Age', Journal des Savants (1896) pp.518-40. These illustrated copies have been extensively published and have been the subject of a Ph.D. thesis, Brucia Witthoft, The Tacuinum Sanitatis: Studies in Secular Manuscript Illumination in the late 14th century in Lombardy, Harvard University, 1978.

There seems to be no direct relationship between the illustration of the Paris copy and any of the other surviving copies and, although many entries are textually the same in the Paris and the Rome, Casanatense Cod. 4182, copies the Paris copy has twenty-one entries not in the Rome copy and the Rome copy twenty-six not in the Paris copy.

32. All miniatures are reproduced in a facsimile edition of this manuscript: E. Berti Toesca, Il Tacuinum sanitatis della Biblioteca Nazionale di Parigi (Bergamo, 1937).
33. François Avril in Dix siècles..., 1984, pp.100- 01, suggests that, apart from the folios in the style of Latin 757 (which are given as 65, 67, 69 and 72 instead of 65, 67, 70 and 72), entire gatherings

were given to a small number of artists to draw the illustrations. The drawn folios could then have been distributed amongst other artists for painting.

Witthoft, The Tacuinum Sanitatis..., 1978, p.7

pointed out that the painting of the miniatures preceded the writing of the text.

34. Miniatures whose painting is attributable to one hand are also found on both sides of the five bifolios, 17/24v., 17v./24, 33/40v., 33v./40, 34/39v., 34v./39, 35/38v., 35v./38, 42/47v. and 42v./47. Other miniatures by this painter, however, are on bifolios which also carry the work of other miniaturists, for example, ff.52, 53 and 80.
35. See catalogue for list of initials.
36. Perhaps, party gules and azure, ten bezants or.
37. The significance of 'pinxit' in the context of Lombard illumination is not clear. Where owners of manuscripts have made notes about the cost of work, 'illuminatus' or 'miniatus' are used to refer to the painted decoration: see for example pp.228-230 and p.170 for Paris, B.N. Latin 8028 and 7880(1). Similarly, all the entries in the Annali della Fabbrica..., 1877-84, which refer to painting in books use the term 'aminiatura' or some variable, see Appendix I. On the other hand

'pinxit et ordinavit' are the words used by Giovanni di Benedetto da Como to describe his role in the Munich Hours of Blanche of Savoy, see p.129

38. E. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza ducs de Milan, Supplément (Paris, 1969). Plates 42 and 43 reproduce the first folios of B.N. Latin 8042 and 8043 respectively. See catalogue entries for a fuller description of these manuscripts, except for Madrid, Bibl. Nac. ms. 601 which I have not seen.
  
39. E. Pellegrin, 'Portraits de Galeas II Visconti, Seigneur de Milan (d. 1378)', Scriptorium, 8 (1954), pp.113-15, suggests that Madrid Bibl. Nac. ms. 601 includes a portrait of Galeazzo in the initial of f.1. It contains no arms or other marks of ownership and was not in any of the inventories of the Visconti library in Pavia. B.N. Latin 8042 and 8043 were both listed in the 1426 inventory, Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, items 46 and 27 respectively. Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Canon. Class. Lat.68 has a deed of sale written in Pavia in 1386 bound in with it. The binding is not original.
  
40. These manuscripts are not compellingly the work of one artist. It seems unlikely that the miniatures and borders of these manuscripts were drawn by an artist responsible for designing the

infinitely more controlled and accomplished work in the luxury books.

41. Paris, B.N. Latin 7323, a Latin translation of Alfodhol da Merengi, Liber iudiciorum et consiliorum, with the arms and emblems of Bernabò Visconti has ink drawings of the signs of the zodiac of which two, Virgo on ff.25-27v. and Leo on ff.22-24v., are very similar to figure types found in fr.343 and Latin 757: compare figs 117 and 119 of Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde..., 1965, with ill. 102 and 5. The painted borders on ff.1 and 5 are made up of acanthus leaves but they are not similar to type A of Latin 757 and the decorative flourishes of white are more complex than any found in the manuscripts so far discussed: Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, plates 94 and 95.
42. See catalogue entry. Not all the additions are in the same script.
43. See the catalogue entry for the tortuous collation of this manuscript.
44. F. Boll, 'Photographische Einzelaufnahmen aus den Schätzen der K. Hof- und Staats-Bibliothek in München', Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen (1902), p.239.
45. 26 May - Augustine of Canterbury; 28 February - Oswald of Worcester; 2 March - Chad; 18 March -

Edward Martyr; 20 March - Cuthbert; 13 October - Edward the Confessor. These are only a few of the English saints. The presence of the feasts of St Augustine on 4 September and the translation of St Augustine on 11 October, this last with the qualification 'p(at)ris nost(ri)', shows that this is an Austin friars calendar. I am grateful to Nigel Morgan for this information. There is no way of knowing how or when this calendar came to be bound into an Italian Book of Hours, nor why it could have been thought appropriate.

46. The added prayers on ff.58v.-64v. and 130-134v. have part borders springing from painted initials of a different type, eg. f.133v. (ill. 141). These are similar to style B of Latin 757 but are made up of more complex leaf-forms and infills; there is less burnished gold ground and there are gold disks with spiked outlines scattered throughout the margins as well as the customary kite-shapes. The texts added on ff.212-214 and 241-241v. were not decorated although the scribe left gaps for painted initials.
47. There are large initials and full-page borders on ff.9, 16v., 27, 34, 38, 40, 45, 53, 66, 73v., 78v., 89, 96, 100v., 105, 108v., 113v., 124, 135, 140, 145, 149, 153, 157, 161, 166, 171, 179, 180v.,

- 202, 215 and 227 (ills 117, 119, 121, 131, 138, 143, and 156). Usually the infill of the initial contains an emblem or the arms of Blanche of Savoy and Galeazzo Visconti, but that on f.9 contains the Virgin and Child and those of ff. 27, 34, 53, 124 and 227 contain busts of saints.
48. Two miniatures and one of the 'basamento' quatrefoils include castles with Visconti/Savoy arms over the entrance. All these are different but it is not clear whether they are meant to represent real Visconti properties and be a humble anticipation of the Duc de Berri's residences' portrayal in the Très Riches Heures.
49. No space was left at the beginning of a new gathering for an introductory miniature for Matins of the Office of the Cross but there would have been blank folios at the end of the previous section of text, ff.130-132v. until the added prayers were written.
50. This gathering is misplaced: ff.39-46 should precede the gathering ff.31-38.
51. The first miniature does not share the same format as the other miniatures of the Office of the Virgin and has no 'basamento'. This is the only miniature in the section of text, ff.9-14v.,



where there are unaltered borders of the style unlike those of Latin 757. Perhaps the decision to change the border style was accompanied by a decision to change the lay-out and subject matter of the miniatures.

52. If all of the scenes from the lives of Joachim and Anne, the Virgin and Christ are given sequential numbering, they are placed in these Hours as follows: 6, 1, 4, 5, 2, 3, 27, 6, 7, 15, 16, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 17, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, then four unrelated miniatures, 25, three unrelated miniatures, 26. The misplacement of the fourth gathering accounts for 4 and 5 preceding 2 and 3.
53. The miniatures on ff.72v. and 123 are placed as near as the composition allows to text openings.
54. P. Spreafico, La Basilica di S. Eustorgio Tempio e Museo (Milan, 1976), p.154.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE CHRONOLOGY AND EVOLUTION OF THE STYLE OF LATIN 757

Lacking any contemporary accounts, inventories<sup>1</sup> or other documentary records relating to the manuscripts of this group, we are reliant upon internal evidence and stylistic comparison to determine the date of their illustration and the chronological relationship of one manuscript to another. The phrase 'internal evidence' refers here to the information provided within the text and painting of a manuscript, sometimes in conjunction with knowledge of its history. Although only one manuscript includes a dated colophon to provide a precise terminus post quem for the painting, and the internal evidence is usually more indirect and indefinite, it is nonetheless the more objective indicator and the discussion will start with these features before moving on to a comparison of the illustration and decoration, both between manuscripts within the group and with other Lombard manuscripts.

#### Internal evidence

Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Latin 23215 includes as an integral feature of its decoration the arms and emblems of Galeazzo II Visconti and his wife Blanche of Savoy.<sup>2</sup> The couple were married on 28 September 1350 and Galeazzo died on 4 August 1378: it seems

reasonable to suppose that the Book of Hours was commissioned for them during this period. Blanche lived on until 1387 and three prayers, apparently added to the main text on folios left blank by the original scribes,<sup>3</sup> explicitly name Blanche alone as the user of the manuscript: on f.62 'Obsecro te...' includes the words 'michi peccatrice indigne famule tue blanche...'; on f.212 the rubric 'Questa oration de dire madona po so lo officio dei morti e qua(n)do ela vora pregare singulamente p(er) l'anima del so magnifico segnor...'; on f.241 the prayer includes the phrases 'co(n)cede peccatrici famule tue Blanche...' and '& vi co (?) nato meo Galeaz co(m)ite virtutu...'.

Although all three prayers appear to have been written by different scribes, and perhaps at different times,<sup>4</sup> since one, on ff.212-214, was definitely added during the widowhood of Blanche of Savoy, it is possible that they all were. Previously it has been assumed that they were inserted into a manuscript completed during the lifetime of Galeazzo II Visconti. In fact the position of some miniatures relative to these inserted prayers make this most unlikely: in three cases inserted text is written on a piece of parchment which also holds a miniature, ff.65v., 134v. and 214v. (ills 127, 142 and 153). These miniatures are indistinguishable in style from the others in this book.

We have seen that, whilst some of the miniatures illustrating these Offices are painted on folios left blank by the scribes for this purpose, many others are painted on inserted single folios of which the other side is blank and unruled.<sup>5</sup> This disruption to the regular composition, caused by the expansion of the illustrative scheme, makes the adjustments made for inserting further texts less immediately clear but, in order for the painting of the miniatures at the ends of the added prayers to precede the writing of the prayers, each later scribe would have had to use not only the blanks left at the end of a block of the original text but also the blank side of a folio inserted to receive an extra miniature. In itself it is unlikely that a scribe would make a decision so likely to cause damage to the painted surface, and closer consideration reveals other reasons for believing that the insertion of these prayers, one explicitly from the widowhood of Blanche of Savoy, preceded the painting of the miniatures on these folios.

In two instances the additional text elements were first written across folios left blank by the earlier scribe and then continued on bifolios inserted to allow their completion. The prayers on ff.58v.-64v. start on ff.58v.-63v., the surplus folios of gathering 7 which carries the end of the Office of the Virgin, and continue on the bifolio

64/65. The prayers on ff.130-134 start on ff.130-132v., the surplus folios at the end of gathering 14 which carries the end of the Propers for the Office of the Virgin, and then continue onto bifolio 133/134. In each case the final verso of the added bifolio bears a miniature. Nowhere else in the manuscript is there any instance of or any reason for a bifolio's having been added only for the sake of an additional miniature. A bifolio was, however, necessary here in order to receive these prayers. This appears to show that the addition of these prayers preceded the execution of these miniatures. It need not necessarily have preceded it by very long.

A similar order of work and the proximity in time of the addition of the prayer to the addition of the miniature are suggested by some features of the prayer for the dead Galeazzo's soul on ff.212-214. This additional text does not open on unneeded folios left blank at the end of a block of continuous work but, on ff.212v. and 213r. and v., within gathering 25 at the end of the Office of the Dead and before the Penitential Psalms. The early scribe can only have left these in order for a miniature on f.213v. to face the opening of the Psalms.<sup>6</sup> In fact a close examination reveals that f.213v. got as far as being ruled to receive a miniature before the prayer for

Galeazzo's soul was added: there is a framework, to contain a miniature and its basamento-like panel, visible below and at the sides of the text.<sup>7</sup> The prayer continues and ends on the recto of the inserted folio, 214<sup>8</sup> and the miniature to face the Penitential Psalms, displaced by the prayer from its intended position on f.213v., was finally painted on the verso of this inserted folio. It follows that the illustration of this manuscript was not completed at the time of Galeazzo's death. Furthermore, it would appear likely, on the basis of the coats of arms and monograms, that this Book of Hours was commissioned during Galeazzo's life and was being illustrated at the time of his death in 1378, after which the text was modified and the illustration completed for Blanche, his widow.

Similarly, the biography of the original owner of Latin 757, Bertrando de' Rossi,<sup>9</sup> indicates the limits within which its decoration was possible. After Giangaleazzo Visconti had deposed Bernabò in May of 1385, Bertrando was one of the knights who switched allegiance from uncle to nephew. As the donor miniature on f.109v. (ill. 15) of Latin 757 shows Bertrando wearing Giangaleazzo's emblem it must have been after this date that this miniature was painted. Bertrando remained in Giangaleazzo's service for the rest of his life; he died on 5 November 1396. The

painting of Latin 757 can therefore be dated to between 1385 and 1396.

The tables at the beginning of the manuscript seem to provide further evidence for dating but since their contents must depend, at least in part, on the information or model available to the scribe it is perhaps best to treat them warily. The Easter tables, ff.4v.-5, as originally written<sup>10</sup> ran from 1380 to 1499 within a symmetrical grid ruled across a double-page spread. Each register contains the relevant information for all years of a decade, only the first year of which is listed: thus the first line refers not to 1380 alone but to the 1380s and cannot be taken to pinpoint a precise time of writing. At best, these tables suggest a date somewhere within this decade. The lunar tables are organised by individual year and open with entries for 1395. These are, however, additional to the main text and have no decoration or painted initials in the style of Latin 757; they may therefore provide a terminus ante quem for the painting of this manuscript.<sup>11</sup>

If knowledge of the owners of these books suggests a date around 1378 for the Munich book and sometime after 1385 for Latin 757, the colophon of f.77 of Latin 862 of the Biblioteca Estense in Modena, 'Ego mag(ister) Albertolus de porcelis, scripsi civitatis mediolane porte cumane: mcccclxxxiii', would place

the writing and therefore, quite probably the decoration of this manuscript between these two.

Albeit scant and imprecise, there is some indication for dating on the basis of the early ownership of two other manuscripts discussed in Chapter 3 as part of the Latin 757 group. Smith-Lesouëf 22 includes in its decoration the same arms and emblems as Latin 757, showing that it too was painted for Bertrando de' Rossi. The Easter table duplicates that of Latin 757 and must therefore be regarded as equally unhelpful for dating. The portrait of the donor on f.15 (ill. 66), however, although recognisably the same man as on f.109v. (ill. 15) of Latin 757, appears to be older: his hair has receded considerably.

There is a note on the fly-leaf of the Tacuinum Sanitatis, n.a. lat.1673 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, that reads 'Das puech ist gewest Erzherzog Leopolt Kayser Fridrichs Enne Hawsfraw Herzog Warnabo von Mailanndt Tochter'. This presumably refers to Verde Visconti, daughter of Bernabò, who died in 1405. She married Leopold III, Duke of Austria, in 1365. There are no marks of ownership which indicate whether the manuscript was made specifically for her and this information merely provides an extreme terminus ante quem.

The internal evidence therefore provides the following limits: the Munich Hours were started



before, but were not completed by, 1378; the Modena Hours were painted after 1383; Latin 757 was completed after 1385 and before November 1396; Smith-Lesouëf 22 was started before November 1396 and probably some time after Latin 757; the Tacuinum Sanitatis was completed before the death of Verde Visconti in 1405.

### Stylistic comparisons

In an attempt to fit the other manuscripts discussed in Chapter 3 into this sequence and if possible to make these datings more precise, the discussion will now turn to a comparison of these manuscripts both one with another and with other Lombard manuscripts. Several of the stylistic and organisational features of the decoration of the Books of Hours support the order for their execution which is suggested above.

Although there are many similarities between the Hours of Blanche of Savoy and Latin 757, there is no unity of style between the two comparable to that found in the other associated manuscripts. Some aspects of the decoration of the Munich manuscript suggest that it is the earliest of the manuscripts discussed in Chapter 3.

The two styles of border which decorate the folios of Modena, Bibl. Estense, Latin 862 and Latin 757

appear in a less elegant form in Blanche's Hours (ills 117, 121 and 125). We have already seen how the use of these two border types represented a change of plan for the Munich manuscript.<sup>12</sup> Borders of a different type were painted up to f.14v. (ill. 115) and were drawn up to f.45 (ill. 117) when the decision was taken to change the design. The relative awkwardness of the subsequent borders, compared to Latin 757, and this modification in itself may be indicative of the inception and infancy of the new style. Furthermore some of the borders which are similar to style B of Latin 757 seem to be an intermediate stage between this border style and some borders in English manuscripts.

One of the manuscripts made for Humphrey de Bohun, 7th Earl of Hereford (1342 - 1373), the Psalter, Oxford, Exeter College, ms 47,<sup>13</sup> had borders which are made up of tendrils of pink and blue, with occasional leaves of red, against a bar of burnished gold (ills 160 and 161). The grotesques and leaf-forms are different but there is otherwise an overall similarity with the borders of the Munich manuscript. Both have these restrained borders with a cusped ground of burnished gold and the sprays of paired kite-shapes with a gold disk which spring into the margins. There are exact parallels to the kite-shapes with a central white line with a dot on either side, which are seen throughout

the Munich manuscript, on ff. 99-120v. of the Bohun Psalter.

It seems likely that some English manuscript with similar decoration may have been the starting point for the design of the Munich borders.<sup>14</sup>

In Blanche's Hours the sprays with kite-shapes are often only on one side of the bar (ills 143 and 156) and there are some longer sprays with double kite-shapes. Both of these features are found in the Bohun Psalter (ills 160 and 161) and not in Latin 757. In Latin 757 the kite-shapes are almost invariably on short stems and placed in pairs on either side of the bar of the border (ills 45 and 48). Some folios of the Munich Hours include such paired sprays (ills 125 and 131). None are found in the Bohun Psalter. It would seem therefore that style B is a development from the Munich Hours not only in terms of refinement but also away from an English prototype which seems to have provided some of the forms for one type of border in the Munich Hours.

The increased sophistication in design of the borders of Modena, Latin 862 and Latin 757 over those in the Munich Hours is accompanied in Latin 757 by an increased sophistication in the way the two border styles are used. The forms of styles A and B are used in the Munich Hours as a replacement to that originally used or planned for the first folios but type A appears only on folios 31v.-35. In the Modena manuscript

these two border types, where painted by the illuminators of the first campaign, are more consistent and completely analagous to those of Latin 757 but, like the Munich manuscript, only the opening folio of the Hours of the Virgin is decorated with a border of type A and all but one, f.31, of the borders or initial sprays drawn during the first campaign are of type B. This contrasts with the systematic application of these forms in Latin 757, where type B was used for all subsidiary decorated initials and sprays into the margins and types A and B were used alternately for large initials and their full-page borders.<sup>15</sup>

There is an analagous refinement in the corner sprays from the frames of each miniature, which are successively more attenuated and delicate from the Munich to the Modena, and then to the Paris Hours. The sprays in the Munich manuscript have ink outlines on both sides of the stem, in the Modena manuscript there is an ink outline on one side only, whilst in the Paris book stems are shown only by a taut fine line (ills 122, 85 and 21).

The various formats of the miniatures also seem to show a progression, from the long oblong picture field over a decorative panel containing a quatrefoil and acanthus sprays, which is the customary format of the Munich manuscript, to the squarer field of the

Modena manuscript, again above a decorative field in which the foliage sprays are now made up of the border forms, and on to the squarer independent miniature field of the Paris Hours (ills 122, 85 and 21).

The Munich arrangement is reminiscent of the lay-out of contemporary Lombard fresco schemes, where narrative scenes or devotional images are set within friezes of acanthus sprays and quatrefoils, for example the Oratorio di Mocchirolo (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, figs 198 and 199). The change in format of the full-page miniature from one manuscript to another could be seen as an increased integration of the illustration with the decorative forms, and an adaptation to the demands of setting and support. Like the changes in style and application of border types it would seem to endorse the order suggested by the internal evidence for the sequence of these manuscripts' execution.

The organisation, hierarchy of decorative elements and the page lay-out of Smith-Lesouëf 22 are essentially the same as those of Latin 757 but the decorative foliage forms are of a different type. Instead of the two border styles found in the other Books of Hours, that used in Smith-Lesouëf 22 is made up of ivy-leaf sprays in close imitation of contemporary French manuscripts.<sup>16</sup> From dated manuscripts containing

a similar type of decoration this emulation of French forms appears to have become fashionable in Milan and Pavia in the years 'around 1390. It is particularly associated with manuscripts attributable to the workshop of Pietro da Pavia, who in 1389 signed and dated the Historia Naturalis of Pliny, E.24 inf. of the Biblioteca Ambrosiana of Milan.<sup>17</sup> The most telling example for the dating of Smith-Lesouëf 22 is a copy of the works of the jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi, Latin 11727 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. The frontispiece, f.1 (ill. 82), has a border on all four sides made up of blue and gold ivy-leaves or flowers which spring from blue bars against a gold ground. The quatrefoils at each corner contain Giangaleazzo's sol-cum-columba device and the baguette between the two columns of text is made up of two Visconti vipers intertwined. The quatrefoil in the centre of the lower border contains what are probably the arms of the author, Baldo degli Ubaldi, or, two bars sable for, in the explicit on f.103v., Baldo dedicated this work to Giangaleazzo:

'...Baldo de perusio utriusque iuris doctoris  
in iclita civitate Papie publicata anno dni  
mccclxxxiii sub felici & Illustri dno, dno Io,  
Galeac, comite virtutum in cuius laudem &  
honorem compillavit hoc opus. Deo gratias  
Amen.'

It would appear that this was a presentation volume

given by the author to his patron, the Count of Virtue.<sup>18</sup>

This manuscript would anyway be interesting as a dated example of Italian border decoration painted in imitation of French illumination: it has additional significance in this context because the frontispiece was painted by the artist who was responsible for the Vespers section of Smith-Lesouëf 22 (for f.54v. of Smith-Lesouëf 22, see Cogliati Arano, 'Due libri...', 1970, p.39, fig. 5).<sup>19</sup> The ivy-leaves in both this section of Smith-Lesouëf 22 and f.1 of Latin 11727 have the same sharply indented contours and ink tendrils of the same tightly-curved pen-strokes, the bars are painted in an identical way, the stem, with a white highlight on blue or pink against a gold ground, ends at the point where it divides into two sprays with a red ball and a white highlight around it. The figural elements in both are not only the same forms but are painted with an identical technique; flesh is shown by white, pink and red pigment placed upon a greenish-grey ground; there is the same rather odd restricted colouring of blue and pinks which ties in with the foliage and baguette forms of the borders.<sup>20</sup>

Although there is no reason to suppose that this was the mode of only one year of this painter's career or that Smith-Lesouëf 22 need be dated (on this basis)

to 1393 it does support the idea, suggested by the appearance of the donor on f.15, that this manuscript was painted later in the life of Bertrando de' Rossi than Latin 757.

Nothing is known of the history of fr.343, the Lancelot du lac, before it was recorded as item 908, fourteen quaternions, in the 1426 inventory of the library in the Castello di Pavia.<sup>21</sup> In spite of the different treatment of the miniatures, secular narratives in a less opulently appointed book, from those in the Books of Hours the resemblance of figures of knights and demoiselles in fr.343, in colour, proportion and dress, is stronger with the soldiers and saints of Latin 757 than with any other manuscript.<sup>22</sup> Furthermore these two books share a particular characteristic which suggests that they were painted soon after one another: a dependence they each have upon the compositions of a manuscript outside this stylistic group, n.a. fr.5243 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.

N.a. fr.5243 comprises the surviving fragments of a copy of Guiron le Courtois<sup>23</sup> and has appeared to be an isolated example of extremely high quality work and consequently difficult to localise: it has variously been attributed to Lombard, Paduan or Venetian illuminators and to dates ranging from the 1370s to the 1390s. Similarities between this



manuscript and fr.343 have always been recognised<sup>24</sup> but the style of the Guiron manuscript is clearly different from that of the Latin 757 group (ills 162-177). Many of its illustrations appear subtler and rather more refined, the drawing style is less dependent upon strong, simplified contours and the figure proportions are more elegant and slender. Faces are more generalised than the individualised types which reappear amongst the pages of the 757 group of manuscripts. Similarly, there is a different repertoire of architectural forms. These differences in style make it obvious that we should seek an explanation other than the emergence of both manuscripts from one workshop to account for the presence of identical motifs within them.

A close comparison of the figures and horses in the scenes of the two romances show that there must have been a direct relationship between the two works themselves or of both to a third romance or a model book for one. The following are some of the best demonstrations of this relationship: the falling horse and rider with an outstretched arm who appear on f.48 (ill. 174) of the Guiron and f.107 (ill. 107) of the Lancelot; the horse shown in rear view with its mane, but not its face, visible on f.33 (ill. 170) of the Guiron and f.10v. (ill. 95) of the Lancelot; the group of two knights, one pulling the other backwards off

his horse on f.42v. (ill. 172) of the Guiron and f.33 (ill. 103) of the Lancelot; the tournaments shown on f.55 (ill. 177) of the Guiron and f.4v. (ill. 94) of the Lancelot which both include a knight falling on to his head, also in these scenes three of the six musicians of the Guiron reappear in the Lancelot. These are only the most extraordinary examples of figures from one manuscript appearing in the other. The selection of only some of the musicians from the Guiron for use in the Lancelot perhaps suggests that the Guiron manuscript was the source. The dependence of some of the Lancelot designs upon Guiron solutions is confirmed by the group of two horseback knights, one putting his arm around the other's throat, f.42v. (ill. 172) in the Guiron and f.33 (ill. 103) in the Lancelot. This incident is quite specific to the text of the Guiron when Gauvain acts to protect Arthur,

'& lors se trait vers lui au pl(us)  
coiem(en)t q'il puet & gete les bras &  
laert au col & le tire si fort q'il le  
porte desoz le ventre du cheval...'

whilst in the Lancelot it is used quite gratuitously as part of the general melee of a tournament in which Lancelot takes part.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore one illustration of the Guiron manuscript was used as a source for figures in another book of the 757 group, Latin 757 itself.

Folio 14v. (ill. 164) of n.a. fr.5243 shows the capture by Tarsin of Tarsin's wife and Morhoult d'irlande after Morhoult has been tricked by a maid into giving up his arms. Several of the figures from this folio appear in the Passion Cycle of Latin 757: Tarsin becomes the head of the guard in the Betrayal on f.57v. (ill. 8) and three of Tarsin's soldiers become members of the guard taking Christ. These three reappear on f.72v. (ill. 10) but reversed. On ff.76 and 79 (ills 11 and 12) they appear again but no longer in derived poses, they have been assimilated into the cast of characters. Although not as close a copy, the man tying the hands of Tarsin's wife, with his back turned and showing a profil perdu appears leading the procession to Calvary on f.76 (ill. 11). It makes no sense to think of the scene of Morhoult's capture being composed of figures scattered through the Passion cycle of Latin 757. It is surely a testament to the impact which the Guiron manuscript, an arresting and accomplished work, had upon the artists designing Latin 757 and fr.343 that they used it as a source for figure composition not only when the subject matter was obviously parallel, in another romance, but also when the opportunity arose in a devotional book.

Perhaps the fact that the Guiron manuscript has been used in the same way for both fr.343 and Latin

757 shows that they were painted close to the time of the workshop's first exposure to the influence of the Guiron. There is no evidence within the other manuscripts of the group of a similar close copying of figures from the Guiron. For, although the furhatted man in a blue doublet appears twice in the Passion cycle of Smith-Lesouëf 22 (ills 70 and 81), the figure is not repeated but is used rather as a general executioner type, as he had been in later folios of Latin 757, the Martyrdom of St Agnes, f.298 (ill. 36) and the Flagellation, f.254v. (ill. 26). The other lasting and ubiquitous inheritance from the Guiron was the yellow fabric patterned with eyes which was worn by King Arthur on ff.3-14. This easily adaptable motif became absorbed into general workshop formulae and now seems almost a trademark.<sup>26</sup>

We have no knowledge of the early history of n.a. fr.5243, nor of how the workshop of Latin 757 could have had access to it, but it is tempting to wonder whether the owner of the Guiron made it available to illuminators who were to make another Arthurian romance for him. In fact two of the flourish initials within the text identify the man for whom the Guiron was decorated. Although most of the initials have a decorative, non-representational in-fill (ill. 162), a few have acanthus leaves, for example ff.2v., 7v. and 48 (ill. 174), one has a figure of a man seated in

an attitude found often in the miniatures, ankles crossed and arm extended, f.31, and two contain the Visconti viper: on its own in the infill of the initial A of f.71v. and in the first initial Q on f.46v. with the letters d.B. (ill. 173). This monogram, standing for dominus Bernabus, is found on the tomb of Bernabò Visconti,<sup>27</sup> and, combined with the Viper, on the coins minted during his lordship of Milan, 1354-85.<sup>28</sup> It is unlikely that this monogram should have been painted here for any reason other than Bernabò's intended ownership of the book.<sup>29</sup> His enthusiasm for Arthurian romance could be deduced from the names given to his bastard children: Palomede, Lionella, Lancelotto, Sagramoro, Ginevra and Isotta. It is probable that, when the manuscript was intact, there were more obvious signs of Bernabò's ownership: there are only five painted initials now because the chapter openings, including the first, were on bifolios removed sometime after the foliation in brown ink was made.<sup>30</sup> Bernabò's imprisonment in May 1385 and his consequent death provide a terminus ante quem for the illustration of this manuscript.

Although the only other known manuscript illustration in the same style as n.a. fr.5243 is unpublished, that in another copy of Guiron le Courtois in private ownership,<sup>31</sup> the large, painted


foliate initials on ff.38, 39, 43, 70v. and 76 of n.a. fr.5243 seem to be by the same artist as those in B.N. Latin 7880 (I). Here they are of a different type from those of the Guiron; they have sprays on to the margin and a ground of azurite rather than burnished gold but, nonetheless, the pigments used and the way that they are treated are so exactly alike and so unusual that, if they are not the work of one man, they are likely to have been painted by close associates. The initial staves are pale pink, mauve-pink and salmon-pink, turquoise, pale green and pale blue. One edge of each leaf form is picked out by a white line whilst the other is shaded with a translucent brown glaze, except for the salmon-pink which is shaded with a strong red, and the blue which is shaded with a dark blue. The forms of the white flourishes on the pink staves and on the grounds are common to both manuscripts. The flourish initials are also closely similar.<sup>32</sup> B.N. Latin 7880 (I) is a copy of Leonzio Pilato's translation of the Iliad, which originally belonged to Petrarch who obligingly recorded on the fly-leaf 'domi scriptus, patavi cept(us), ticini perfect(us), mediolani illuminatus et ligatus, anno 1369'. On the basis of the two types of initials it seems probable that the Guiron manuscript should be regarded as originating in Milan before the last years of Bernabò's reign.<sup>33</sup>


Fashionable dress in late fourteenth century  
Lombard painting

A date sometime in the late 1360s or the 1370s is also suggested by the dress worn by people populating the illustrations of this romance.

It is perhaps particularly in the works of art made for such a fashion-conscious clientele as members of an extravagant and dazzling court that we should expect the depicted dress either to reflect contemporary clothing or to be significantly chosen to make some statement. When the subjects illustrated are themselves scenes of court life it seems not only justifiable but appropriate that the artist should clothe his creations like his patrons. In the case of the Guiron manuscript an obvious and unusual attention has been paid to the detail and variety of clothing.

Men, unless they are in armour, are usually shown wearing doublets buttoned down the front, with padding over the chest and a short, tight skirt. Although the natural waist is emphasized belts, often with a centrally hung dagger, are worn low on the hips, legs are covered with tight-fitting hose and a garter is often worn, for example on ff.14v. and 34 (ills 164 and 171).<sup>34</sup> The sleeves extend over the backs of the wearers' hands and are tight-fitting, with a row of buttons along the forearm; the upper sleeve is often fuller to the elbow and is perhaps cut in one with the bodice, for example on the central seated

figure on f.34 (ill. 171). Men wear a range of elaborate hats and also small hoods with long, extremely thin liripipes and small yoke-like capes, most often V-shaped, or -shaped, front and back. Their shoes have long points and have decorative cut-out patterns. Hair is sometimes worn very long, for example ff.lv. and 49v. (ills 162 and 175).

Women's dresses are tight-fitting to the hips and flare out below; they wear no belts but usually have a row of buttons to hip-level or below down the front. Necklines are low and wide-cut and of the same -shape as some of the men's hood-capes. Sleeves are tight, come down over the back of the hand and are buttoned from the elbow down. Their hair is worn long and is usually loosely plaited at the bottom; very occasionally it is braided up around and above the ears, like a less rigid version of French fashion of the 1350s.<sup>35</sup> Some women wear simple veils or headbands.

Women, and more rarely men, when wearing tight sleeves may have long, thin trailing strips falling from bands around their upper arms - presumably an evolution from the pendant sleeve. Tight sleeves, as on f.2, are sometimes decorated with applied strips of braid.

The precision of the attention given to the styling of garments extends to the patterns on the fabrics. These often seem to have been used consistently



in order that one character could be identified through a series of scenes.<sup>36</sup>


It seems likely that, rather than drawing on either his imagination or a model-book, the artist was reproducing the dress worn by those around him in showing so consistently such specific and elaborate details of design and construction. If it is not demonstrable that these clothes were the height of contemporary fashion, it is certainly true that they were à la mode in other painted representations of and for members of the Visconti court. In the frescoes of the Oratorio di Santo Stefano at Lentate similar dress can be found in both the representations of the family of Stefano Porro, Counsellor to Galeazzo Visconti and Count Palatine, for whom it was built in 1369, and in the scenes from the life of St Stephen (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig. 204). This is also the case in the Oratorio di Mocchirolo, now in the Brera, Milan (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, figs 201-02).<sup>37</sup>

Both women and men wear sleeves which extend on to the back of the hand and have buttons on their sleeves and down the fronts of their dresses or tunics. Women's dresses have low-cut square necks; the young women wear their hair long and loose and have trailing strips from their sleeves. Although the trailing strips worn from the sleeves of the women of the Guiron manuscript and Caterina, the wife of Stefano Porro in the Lentate

fresco can be found in manuscripts from other centres,<sup>38</sup> one garment seems to be restricted to works of Lombard origin of around the 1370s. In the Mocchirolo frescoes St Catherine wears a gown trimmed with bands of ermine at the hem, on the bodice around the armholes, and hanging in strips from the neckline edge above the shoulder. Such a garment is also worn by the wife and daughter of the Porro lord but the surface of this fresco is damaged and it is not clear whether this represents ermine or a less royal fur. Not only the ermine but the identity of the wearers of the garment make clear its royal status. Other wearers of this garment are the princess in the fresco of St George and the dragon in the Visconti chapel of Sant'Eustorgio in Milan and St Catherine in one of the frescoes from San Francesco, which is now in the Palazzo della Ragione in Bergamo (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig. 217). A short male version is worn by King Arthur and other kings in the Guiron manuscript (ill. 175) and a knightly saint in Santo Stefano in Lentate. One example known to me of a non-royal person shown as wearing this garment, is perhaps a justifiable exception: the Virgin from the second pillar on the right in the church of San Francesco in Lodi (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig. 348).<sup>39</sup>

The most striking similarities to the fashions shown in the Guiron manuscript are found in the frescoes of Lentate: an inscription gives the date of the

building and installation of the tomb as 1369<sup>40</sup> and there is no reason to suppose any delay before the painting of the walls. Between them these frescoes and the Guiron manuscript provide a detailed catalogue of fashion as it was represented in painting around the 1370s and we can use this as a basis for noting variance in fashionable dress shown in other Lombard manuscripts. By examining the retention and continuous appearance of some features and the introduction of others it should be possible to suggest the sequence in which the manuscripts were produced.<sup>41</sup>

Only one manuscript of the group associated with the style of Latin 757, the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich Staatsbibl. Latin 23215, shows bodices of women's dresses to be the same shape as those in the Guiron manuscript: necklines are -shaped, and tight-fitting sleeves extend on to the back of the hand. Usually women's clothing in this book appears to be somewhat simplified and it is probably for this reason that there are no rows of buttons fastening sleeves and dress fronts. In two miniatures, the Nativity, f.103v. (ill. 132), and the Faithful adoring Christ, f.226v. (ill. 155), women's dress is more precisely described and one of the midwives wears a dress which has a row of buttons down the front. One woman in each of these miniatures is wearing, at hip-

level, a golden belt. Neither women nor men in this manuscript have the trailing strips falling from bands at the top of their tight sleeves and in fact the men's doublets all have the other common type of sleeve found in the Guiron: full above the elbow, tight over the forearm and belling out over the hand (ill. 135). Conventional, rather generalised dress is used in some of the religious narratives and the Mother of Christ, Christ and the Apostles are customarily clad in loose gowns and mantles. Often, as in the Betrayal on f.134v. (ill. 142) they contrast oddly with the modishly doubletted supporting cast. In general the contours of both male and female clothing are much the same as those seen in the Lentate frescoes and in the Guiron manuscript, except for the discontinuation of the trailing strips from the sleeves and the shorter skirts of men's doublets. Both of these modifications suggest that the Munich manuscript reflects later practice.<sup>42</sup>

The silhouette remains fundamentally the same in the Lancelot du lac, B.N. fr.343, but there are two notable changes. From the 1350s to the 1370s fashionable women's dress is shown in paintings to have an angular neckline where sleeves join the bodice<sup>43</sup> but in the Lancelot scenes young women are almost always shown in dresses with low, round necklines and this remains the norm throughout the other manuscripts of the group.<sup>44</sup> The other change is in the shape of

the sleeves: although there are a few dresses, for example on f.6, where tight-fitting sleeves widen out from the wrist to extend over the hand as they did in the Munich and Guiron manuscripts, most sleeves in the Lancelot, of both women and men, stop short at the wrist. Many are of an entirely new shape. What can be seen, for example on f.8v. (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig.323), seems to be the tight sleeve belonging to an underdress or undertunic, or perhaps a separate undercuff or sleeve, which is visible from the wrist to elbow, whilst a fuller sleeve belonging to the overdress or overtunic is shown pushed up into folds on the upper arm.<sup>45</sup>

Similarly, although one young woman wears her hair in the fashion commonly found in the Guiron manuscript and on f.226v. of the Munich Hours, long, loose tresses plaited at their tips, the damsels from the Lancelot scenes usually wear their hair braided around their heads and decorated with ribbons or garlands (ills 97 and 108).<sup>46</sup>

In the Modena Hours only the midwives at the Nativity, f.37 (ill. 89) wear contemporary dress; their gowns have low, round necklines and they wear tight sleeves which extend over the hand - although one of the midwives has her sleeves unbuttoned and turned back to give her freer movement in handling the Christ child. Both midwives have their hair plaited around their heads. There are, admittedly, few data

to compare but the combination of features in this miniature is only otherwise found in the Lancelot manuscript.

In Latin 757, although the differences from the dress shown in the Lancelot are only subtle, they are nonetheless definite: none of the sleeves extend on to the back of the hand and usually only attendants or servants wear simple tight sleeves. The more extravagantly dressed wear their sleeves either as described above, with the sleeve of the outer garment pushed up to reveal a tight undersleeve, or the outer sleeve is cut straight and hangs loose and almost covers the undersleeve. This style is worn by some of St Ursula's virgin companions on f.380 (ill. 47) and the donor on f.109v. (ill. 15).

The increased fullness in the sleeve is, in some gowns worn by both men and women, paralleled by a similar fullness in the body. This is often then cinched in with a belt, either at waist level or, for women, beneath the bust, f.38v. (ill. 2). These full, belted gowns are not decolleté but reach half-way up the neck, and usually the neck opening fastens with buttons. These are the houppelandes fashionable throughout Europe at the end of the fourteenth and beginning of the fifteenth centuries.<sup>47</sup> On f.15 of Smith-Lesouëf 22 (ill. 66) both St Catherine and the donor wear such gowns but the sleeves are notably wider than any in Latin 757. Although for men tight-fitting doublets with hip-level belts remain an

option which continues to be taken, a progressively more pronounced fullness in sleeve or body continues to mark the change in fashion.<sup>48</sup> This is shown both in the other manuscript of the Latin 757 group, B.N. n.a. lat.1673, and also in a selection of manuscripts securely datable to the years 1395-1403.

In B.N. n.a. lat.1673 the young woman holding a fan, f.65, has sleeves like St Catherine's in Smith-Lesouëf 22, whilst all of the courtly men on folios painted in the style of Latin 757, wear sleeves of a form not seen in the other manuscripts of this group. These are full from the shoulder to below the elbow but then come into a tight cuff at the wrist. Such sleeves are worn by several spectators or participants at the Coronation of Giangaleazzo Visconti as it is shown on f.8 (ill. 178) of the Coronation Missal of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio, ms. 6. This is not the only style of sleeve shown in this miniature but, whether they are closed around the wrist or hang wide and open, all of the sleeves in the Coronation Missal are full.<sup>49</sup> Giangaleazzo was crowned as Duke of Milan on 5 September 1395 and the painting of this miniature must be dated close to that event.

Other manuscripts confirm that such sleeves were a standard feature, at least of represented dress, at this date and seem to show that the move to ever greater fullness, which has been noted throughout this

discussion of fashion in the Latin 757 group of manuscripts, continued in manuscripts of the first years of the fifteenth century: for example see the Missal of Sta Tecla, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare, ms. II, D.I.2; the Funeral Eulogy for Giangaleazzo Visconti, B.N. Latin 5888 (ills 183 and 184); and Tragoediae of Seneca, B.N. Latin 8028 (Dix siècles..., 1984, p.106 for f.70v.). The Missal of Sta Tecla is dated 1402 and the other two manuscripts are dated 1403.

Comparing the fashionable dress in the manuscripts of the Latin 757 group, both one manuscript with another and also with more readily datable Lombard works, corroborates the evidence for the sequence of their production provided by codicological analysis and knowledge of the original owners, and endorses the sequence and dating suggested by stylistic features of lay-out and border types. Furthermore, the comparisons of dress enable the number of years during which the Paris Tacuinum Sanitatis, B.N. n.a. lat.1673 could have been painted to be narrowed down further than knowledge of its ownership by Verde Visconti allows.

#### Sequence and dating of the manuscripts associated with Latin 757

Although no evidence on any basis pinpoints the year of painting of any of these manuscripts, the



sequence and approximate date on the basis of all the above arguments are as follows:

the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, the late 1370s;  
 the Modena Hours, around 1383;  
 the Lancelot du lac, the middle of the 1380s;  
 Latin 757, the second half of the 1380s;  
 Smith-Lesouëf 22, the late 1380s to early 1390s;  
Tacuinum Sanitatis, around 1395.<sup>50</sup>

The span of activity in which the manuscripts of the same style as Latin 757 were painted is not a long one, from around 1383, for the Modena Hours, until around 1395 for the Tacuinum Sanitatis and, with the exception of those features like lay-out and border type, the style of painting is relatively constant. Any differences from one manuscript to another can be accounted for by reference to scale and materials. If there is one evolutionary trend it is perhaps a progression towards a more realistic though still stylized representation of people, so that by the Tacuinum the figures have shaken off their mannikin-like qualities.

The painting in the Hours of Blanche of Savoy differs from the style of Latin 757 and its associated manuscripts both in its treatment and forms and in its heavier, less lively figure style. Yet the types of decorative element and many of the compositional conventions and motifs used in the manuscripts grouped

around Latin 757 were established in these miniatures. It seems reasonable therefore to regard its production as part of the evolution of the style which is so homogeneous in the central group of manuscripts.

All the arguments for dating the Hours of Blanche of Savoy are consistent with its preceding by only a few years the others of the group, the dissimilarities are too great to be explained in terms of an evolution in the style of painting of Giovanni di Benedetto da Como who claimed credit for the Munich Hours on its fly-leaf. In the only manuscript completed in the central style, Latin 757, whilst the decoration and illustration are of remarkable homogeneity small differences of technique, the shading of the drapery, the modelling of flesh, reveal the presence of more than one painter. The style seems to be not so much the product of one individual but of a workshop composed of collaborating artists, albeit under the co-ordinating direction of one man. It is tempting to wonder whether the change between the style of the Munich Hours and that of the rest of the group was the consequence of a change of supervising artist. This has to remain speculative but other questions about workshop practice and the organisation of work can be answered by consideration of the surviving manuscripts and this will be the subject of the next chapter.

#### Notes to Chapter 4

1. The earliest surviving inventory in which any of these manuscripts have been identified is of the library in the Castello di Pavia. This was compiled from the fourth to the eighth of January 1426 for Filippo Maria Visconti. Fr.343, Latin 8042, Latin 8043 and Latin 8045 of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris have been identified as items 908, 46, 27 and probably 932 of this inventory, Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp. 274, 82, 79 and 279-80.
2. See Ch.3, p.124.
3. See Ch.3, p.121 and the catalogue entry which gives the collation of this manuscript.
4. Of the added prayers only two, written in the same hand, ff.58v.-64v. and 130-134 (ill.141), have painted foliate initials and borders. Although these are close to style B they are not identical to those in the rest of the manuscript and it is probable that they were drawn after the others. The other additional prayers have spaces left for decorated initials which were never painted.
5. See Ch.3, p.125 and catalogue entry.

6. Elsewhere in this block of text, ff.135-241v., the scribe always left sufficient folios blank for a miniature to be painted on the verso of a folio of which the recto could remain blank. In those cases, as on f.212, where the text finishes on a recto he left the verso of that folio and a complete folio blank before starting the next text; for example the miniatures on ff.144v., 148v., 156v. and 160v. are preceded by the blank folios 143v. and 144, 147v. and 148, 155v. and 156, 159v. and 160 respectively.
  
7. There are three faint grey parallel lines which correspond to the frames of a painted miniature with a decorative panel. These frames show a modification of design comparable to that of the borders. Folio 1 with Giovanni di Benedetto da Como's inscription is ruled for the same lay-out as the miniature on f.8 which has no decorative panel below the area of the text justification. This is the only gathering where all the borders are of a more conventional style (for changes in the design in the first gatherings see Ch.3, p.123). This parallel modification of lay-out of miniatures and borders indicates that the frames for the miniatures were ruled, as would be expected, by the illuminators and not the scribe.

8. Boll, 'Photographische Einzelaufnahmen...', 1902, p.239, reported that the prayer for the soul of the dead Galeazzo on f.212 was on two added folios. This inaccurate simplification was followed by subsequent writers and generally accepted as evidence that Galeazzo's death was a terminus ante quem for the completion of the manuscript: for example the catalogue of the exhibition Arte Lombarda..., 1958, p.25, 'i minii dell'offiziolo di Monaco si possono liberamente datare al 1350, anno del matrimonio di Bianca con Galeazzo, al 1378, poiche l'orazione in morte di questi e scritta su di un foglio aggiunto...'. In fact this prayer continues over three folios, 212-214, of which only the final one is inserted. It is this inserted folio which bears the Judgement Day miniature on its verso.
  
9. See Ch.1, p.28
  
10. See Ch.1, p.5
  
11. Neither the numbers in the Easter tables nor in the Calendar of Latin 757 are the customary Golden Numbers (cf O. Neuberger, 'Astronomical and Calendrical Data in the Très Riches Heures', Appendix C in M. Meiss, French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry, the Limbourgs and their Contemporaries, 2 vols (London, 1874), 1, pp.421- 32). The numbers given in the Easter table of Latin 757 run from i to xxv rather than

the usual nineteen-year cycle. The second entry for each day in the calendar is a roman numeral, ranging from ii to xviii, but these numerals simply count down to the nones, ides and kalends divisions of each month. It was presumably to compensate for this shortcoming in the calendar that the lunar tables were added. If the first entry of these tables, for 1395, can be taken to show the year of their inclusion in the manuscript, the modification would have been within the lifetime of Bertrando de' Rossi, the first owner. This is perhaps also true of the list of contents, for both of these features were incorporated in his other Book of Hours, Smith-Lesouef 22: the calendar of that manuscript includes Golden numbers of the customary cycle and the contents list was decorated as part of the first campaign of painting.

12. See Ch.3, p.123
13. M.R. James and E.G. Millar, The Bohun Manuscripts, Roxburghe Club (Oxford, 1936), pp.5-22 and plates I-XXII. This manuscript is usually dated to c. 1370.  
M. Rickert, The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal (London, 1952), p.75, n.1, first remarked on the use of 'English kite-shapes' in Blanche's Hours.

14. If an English manuscript with decoration of this type was the source for this border style in Blanche's Hours there was one occasion when such a manuscript might have come into the possession of Galeazzo Visconti. Humphrey de Bohun visited Pavia in 1366 as part of an embassy to treat for marriage between Lionel, Duke of Clarence and Violante, Galeazzo's daughter, E.R. Chamberlain, The Count of Virtue, (London, 1965), p.41.  
The Calendar of Blanche's Hours is of English manufacture and on English parchment.
15. See Ch.2, pp.48-50.
16. By 1426 there were ninety French manuscripts in the library of the Castello di Pavia, most of which must have entered the collection during the lives of Galeazzo II and Giangaleazzo Visconti whose French wives were undoubtedly the partial cause of the presence of such books: there are records of Blanche's purchase of a Book of Hours in Paris in 1366, C. Magenta, I Visconti e gli Sforza nel Castello di Pavia, 2 vols (Milan, 1883), 1, p.113 n.6, and of Amadeo of Savoy's purchase in Paris in 1368 of prayer books for both his sister and her daughter-in-law, Isabelle of Valois, S. Edmunds, 'The Mediaeval Library of Savoy (II):

Documents.', Scriptorium, 25 (1971), p.257.

Perhaps the most interesting, in connection with the imitation of French decoration by Lombard artists, are those French manuscripts once owned by Pasquino Capelli. Pasquino was secretary and counsellor to Giangaleazzo until he was accused of treason and executed in 1398. With the confiscation of his property his library was absorbed into that of the Castello di Pavia.

His collection contained not only books of French origin, some annotated as purchased in Paris in 1383, but also several decorated by Pietro da Pavia. See Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., Supplément, 1969, pp.14-20 for the identification of extant manuscripts once owned by Pasquino.

17. This manuscript may also have originally belonged to Pasquino Capelli, E. Pellegrin 'Notes sur divers manuscrits latins des Bibliothèques de Milan', Bulletin d'information de l'Institut de recherche et d'histoire des textes, 7 (1958), pp.14-16.

For Pietro da Pavia and Lombard borders imitating French illumination see Ch.6, pp.275-77 and n.37.

18. Giangaleazzo had summoned Baldo from Perugia to hold the chair of civil law at Pavia. He was godfather to Baldo's children and showed the greatest consideration for him: Del Giudice,



Nuovi studi di Storia e Diritto (Milan, 1913),  
p.284, n.1.

19. See Ch.3, p.80 and n.5.
20. This technique of painting is the same as that in the Pliny manuscript signed by Pietro da Pavia. Even if this work is not directly attributable to Pietro or his shop it is closely associated with it and there are other reasons for thinking that this manuscript was produced in Pavia. See Ch.6, n. 37.  
  
It is possible that, once the decision was made that Smith-Lesouëf 22 should be decorated with borders of 'French' style, this single gathering was sent to this illuminator and, once painted, it provided an exemplum to the painters who continued the decoration and illumination of the rest of the manuscript. The Vespers gathering, ff.49-56, would make a suitable choice for such treatment because the full text of the Hour is contained within the gathering but no full-page miniature was required. No manuscript attributable to the workshop of Pietro da Pavia includes full-page miniatures. What is more, none are service or devotional books.
21. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.274.
22. There are too few miniatures in the Modena Hours to make a telling comparison on these grounds.

23. R. Lathuillière, Guiron le Courtois, étude de la tradition manuscrite et analyse critique, (Geneva, 1966), pp.77-79. See catalogue entry for the collation and description of this manuscript.
  
24. The most perceptive discussion of the similarities is found in Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', 1965, p.69.
  
25. This must mean that either n.a. fr.5243 itself or another copy with identical illustrations must have been the source used for this illustration in fr.343. The latter case is most unlikely since the copy of the Guiron, see below n.31, which is illustrated in the same style does not duplicate the illustrations of n.a. fr.5243. M.A. Stones in her study, The Illustration of the French prose Lancelot in Flanders, Belgium and Paris 1250-1340, Ph.D. thesis, Univ. of London, 1970, vol. II, p.307, points out that, where more than one manuscript of the 'Queste' came from the same workshop, even though individual miniatures represent the same scene, they often differ considerably in detail.  
  
There seems to be evidence of direct contact between a painter working in the style of Latin 757 and n.a. fr.5243 on folio 49v. (ill. 175). The colours of this miniature and those on the folios at either side of it are the same pastel, sugared-almond shades that were used on the miniatures of n.a.lat.1673 painted in the style

of Latin 757. Furthermore, the background to the figures of f.49v. is not found elsewhere in the manuscript, where seated figures are customarily backed by a curtain (ill. 171). The carved panels with foliage reliefs on f.49v. are, however, a standard decorative feature in manuscripts of the style of Latin 757 (ill. 20).

26. Arthur's doublet on ff.6-8v. of n.a. fr.5243 is mi-parti, one side of the yellow fabric with eyes and the other a pale lilac patterned fabric. It is interesting that this combination reappears on f.72 of B.N. n.a. lat.1673, in the doublet of the falconer and on f.106 of fr.343.
  
27. Originally in S. Giovanni in Conca in Milan but now in the Castello Sforzesco. This monument is attributed to Bonino da Campione, A.G. Meyer, Lombardische Denkmaler des vierzehnten Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart, 1893), pp.98-101 and J. Pope-Hennessy Italian Gothic Sculpture (London, 1955), pp.201- 02.
  
28. For the inscriptions on the tomb and coins from Bernabò's reign, see P. Litta, Celebri Famiglie Italiane (Milan, 1819).

29. Hitherto the only manuscript identified as having been made for Bernabò Visconti was a copy of Alfodhol da Merengi, Liber iudiciorum et consiliorum, B.N. Latin 7323. See catalogue entry and Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., Supplément, 1966, pp.28-29.
  
30. Folio 78 was, according to this old foliation, the last folio of fifteen regular quaternions: gathering 13 (ff.61-68) is the only undisturbed survivor. See the catalogue entry for the collation of this manuscript.
  
31. R. Lathuillière, Guiron le Courtois..., 1966, pp.89-90.
  
32. François Avril in Dix Siècles..., 1984, p.95, points out that there are 'd'étroites similitudes' between the flourish initials of the Guiron le Courtois, n.a. fr.5243, and those in two manuscripts made for Petrarch, B.N. Latin 7880(1) and Berlin, Hamilton 493.
  
33. If Bernabò had commissioned the Lancelot manuscript his imprisonment could account for the fact that its illustration was abandoned in mid-miniature.
  
34. One exception is the squire holding a horse on f.lv. (ill. 162), who wears loose hose with the points showing.

35. For example see the hairstyles of the ladies painted by the illustrator of Machaut's Le Remède de Fortune, B.N. fr.1586, F. Avril, Manuscript Painting at the court of France, (London, 1978), pp.23-25
  
36. Because the pigment is often sparingly applied it is possible to see that, with the exception of ff.1-14 and 19-24, the patterns and details which were drawn were not followed by the painters. This gives reason for thinking that some of the painting of this manuscript was carried out after leaving the hands or supervision of the artist responsible for designing the illustrations. See n.25.
  
37. S. Matalon, Affreschi Lombardi del Trecento, (Milan, 1963), pp.384-5 and 388-9.
  
38. For example, see the children of Love presented to the poet on f.D of Guillaume de Machaut, Poetic works, B.N. fr.1585. This illustration is usually accepted as having been added to the manuscript towards the end of the life of Machaut in 1377, Avril, Manuscript Painting ..., 1978 , pp.28, 98 and pl.30. Similar clothing is shown in a copy of Valerius Maximus, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 2463, which is dated 1377, I. Toesca, 'Alcune Illustrazioni Lombarde del 1377', Paragone, 5 (1954), pp.23-26 and pl.9b.

39. Another quite specific garment which appears to reflect contemporary Lombard practice and is shown in a variety of manuscripts is the braided chemise worn in bed by St Anne or St Elizabeth: B.N. Latin 757, f.337v. (ill. 38); Milan Bibl. Capitolare, ms. II D.2.32, f.36v.; Munich, Staatsbibl. ms. 23215, f.37v. (ill. 122); Florence, Bibl. Naz. Banco Rari 397, f.48; and the fresco of the Birth of the Virgin in the Oratorio di Solaro, Toesca, (La pittura..., 1966, fig. 183).
40. G. Carotti, 'Pitture giottesche nell'oratorio di Mocchirolo', Archivio Storico Lombardo, (1887), pp.781-89.
41. The most informative literary sources for Lombard dress of this period are: (i) J. De Mussis, Chronicon Placentium ab anno MCCCXXII usque annum MCCCCII in which the section on dress is thought to have been written around 1388, the date given in the succeeding section; and (ii) the 1396 sumptuary laws. De Mussis' chronicle is printed in Rerum Italicarum Scriptores (ed. L.A. Muratori Milan, 1723-51), XVI, col.579 ff., and the sumptuary laws are discussed by E. Verga 'Leggi suntuarie milanesi del 1396 e del 1498', Archivio Storico Lombardo, (1898), pp.5-79.
- It is in the nature of both chroniclers and legislators to describe extremes and it is

difficult accurately to match described and represented dress. Discussions of fourteenth century Lombard dress are found in: R. Levi Pisetsky, 'Nuovi mode della Milano Viscontea nello scorcio del '300', Storia di Milano, (Milan, 1955), 5, pp.877-908; E. Verga, Storia della vita Milanese, (Milan, 1931), (1st edition 1909), pp.115- 19; and B. Witthoft, The Tacuinum Sanitatis: studies in secular manuscript illumination in the late 14th century in Lombardy, (Ph.D. thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1978), pp.24-27.

These mainly draw upon the literary sources and do not try to isolate detailed changes in fashionable dress within the period that they cover.

42. S.M. Newton, Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince, Woodbridge, 1980, p.56, concludes that such strips disappeared from fashionable English dress in the 1360s.
43. Apart from the examples already given, see Giovanni da Milano's frescoes in the Rinuccini Chapel, Santa Croce, Florence and Giusto da Menabuoi's frescoes in the Baptistery of Padua. Perhaps this shape is the consequence of bodice pieces not extending up to meet over the shoulder, so the shoulder edge of the neckline is formed by the upper edge of the sleeve piece.

44. In just one case, one of the midwives on f.103v., a round neckline makes an appearance in the Hours of Blanche of Savoy.
  
45. St Catherine wears a dress of this style in a fresco dated 1382 from the church of S. Francesco, now in the Accademia Carrara, Bergamo, P. Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig.216.  
In the zodiac drawings of Bernabò Visconti's Alfodhol, Latin 7323, which are close to the style of Latin 757, Virgo on ff.25-27v. wears sleeves of this type.
  
46. This hairstyle persists into the 15th century for example see f.1 of B.N. Latin 5888. In the Milanese sumptuary laws of 1396 prostitutes were forbidden to wear their hair in plaits, either loose or bound up around their heads, Verga, 'Leggi suntuarie...', 1898, pp.40-42.
  
47. In Northern Italy such a garment was known as a pellanda, J. Herald, Renaissance Dress in Italy 1400-1500, (London, 1981), p.214.
  
48. M. Scott, The History of Dress series: Late Gothic Europe 1400-1500, (London, 1980), pp.77-104, includes a discussion of the evolution of a new style of dress in Europe from 1380-1420 based upon Northern European works of art and documents. The international nature of courtly style following the example of the French court at this time means that, although there are differences in detail, particularly in headcoverings, the general developments described by Miss Scott are



essentially the same as those seen in this ordering of these manuscripts.

49. These styles of sleeves are all found on folios of B.N. n.a. Latin 1673 which are not painted in the style of Latin 757, E. Berti Toesca, Il Tacuinum Sanitatis..., 1937. Dress in the Tacuinum combines features only otherwise found in works of the 1390s or early years of the fifteenth century, with a variety of styles that appear to be earlier: on f.6, for example, the young man picking an apple wears a doublet and hood that would not be out of place in the Munich Hours, whilst the young woman wears a decidedly Northern European frilled veil with a diagonally striped dress much like that of Lot's wife on f.16 of B.N. Latin 364 (ill. 182). Latin 364 contains Giangaleazzo Visconti's arms with the viper quartered with the fleur de lys semée; the use of the arms of France was not conceded to the Visconti until 1395, D.L. Galbraith and L. Jequier, Manuel du blason, (Lausanne, 1977), p.109. I am grateful to François Avril for drawing my attention to this.

50. If female dress in the two undated manuscripts attributed to Giovannino de' Grassi is compared to dress in the manuscripts of the Latin 757

group, Banco Rari 397 of the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence, the Psalter/Hours painted for Giangaleazzo Visconti is clearly comparable to that of Latin 757 itself, M. Meiss and E. Kirsch, The Visconti Hours, (London, 1972). The sketchbook, Bergamo, Biblioteca Civica, ms. delta 7.14, shows fashions with wider sleeves, more like those of the Paris Tacuinum and other manuscripts of the mid 1390s, Taccuino di disegni: Codice della Biblioteca Civica di Bergamo, (Milan, 1961).

## CHAPTER 5

### TECHNIQUES AND ORGANISATION OF PRODUCTION

In the same way that the manuscripts central to this study have themselves provided some answers to the questions for whom and when they were made, so too they may furnish information on how they were made.<sup>1</sup> Because three of the group were left incomplete at the end of the first campaign of painting, the processes and order of decoration are readily discernible and these in turn admit some, albeit partial understanding of workshop procedure and organisation.

Lacking any corroborative documentation, any attempt to reconstruct the methods and work of men who were active six hundred years ago must be regarded as optimistic and potentially inaccurate. Nonetheless, some evidence does exist and it is worth discussing it, assuming a logic and straightforward preference for simplicity in the motivation behind the ordering and execution of the decoration of these folios. It is necessary to recognise, however, that such factors were unlikely to have been any more compelling in determining behaviour in the fourteenth century than they are now and, although the compatibility of the evidence with such an analysis is in itself an argument

in favour of accepting it, it must be with caution and question.

#### DIVISION OF THE WORK

Discussion will centre on B.N. fr.343, which remains incomplete, and Smith-Lesouëf 22. Although Smith-Lesouëf 22 was completed by the Master of the Birago Hours, his palette and figure style are so distinctive and unlike those of Latin 757 that work begun in one style and finished in another is readily distinguishable from that of homogeneous design and painting. This is less securely discernible for all elements of the decoration of the Modena Book of Hours, Bibl. Estense, Latin 862.

#### Paris, B.N. français 343

In all the surviving gatherings of fr.343<sup>2</sup> all illustrations allowed for by the scribe have been drawn and some have been painted. Only some of the decorative elements have been drawn and a few of these have also been painted. If the decoration is divided into the elements of border, large foliate initial and flourish initial, the tasks of drawing and painting these features can each be seen to have reached a uniform level of completion across any single gathering whilst the manuscript is at different levels of completion from one gathering to the next.

- gathering 1, ff.1-8: all illustration is painted; foliate initials and the border on f.1 (the only one in the manuscript) are drawn but not painted and no bole has been applied; no flourish initials
- gathering 2, ff.9-16: all illustrations and foliate initials are drawn and painted; flourish initials are completed
- gathering 3, ff.17-24: all illustration is painted, foliate initials are drawn but not painted and no bole has been applied; flourish initials are completed.
- gathering 4, ff.25-32: all illustration is painted; (no foliate initials fall in this gathering); no flourish initials

- gathering 5, ff.33-44: all illustration is painted; foliate initials are drawn but not painted, no bole has been applied; no flourish initials
- gathering 6, ff.41-48: all illustration is painted; foliate initials are not drawn; no flourish initials
- gathering 7, ff.49-56: all illustration is painted; foliate initials are not drawn; no flourish initials
- gathering 8, ff.57-64: all illustration is painted; foliate initials are not drawn; no flourish initials
- gathering 9, ff.65-72: all illustration is drawn, one is incompletely painted,<sup>3</sup> f,72v.; foliate initials are not drawn; no flourish initials

gathering 10, ff.73-80:      all illustration is  
drawn, none is painted;  
foliate initials are not  
drawn; no flourish  
initials

gathering 11, ff.81-88:      all illustration is  
drawn, five are painted  
and one f.87v. is  
incompletely painted and  
apparently incompletely  
silvered and gilt<sup>4</sup> and  
on one, f.83, only the  
bole has been applied;  
foliate initials are not  
drawn; no flourish  
initials

gathering 12, ff.89-96:      all illustration is  
drawn, none is painted;  
foliate initials are not  
drawn; no flourish  
initials

gathering 13, ff.97-104:      all illustration is  
drawn, none is painted;  
foliate initials are not  
drawn; no flourish  
initials

gathering 14, ff.105-112: all illustration is drawn, three are painted and one, f.111, is incompletely painted; foliate initials are not drawn; no flourish initials.

From this breakdown it can be seen that particular processes towards the completion of the decorative and illustrative elements are always found in the same combinations within a gathering. It seems likely, therefore, that the illuminators kept the bifolios in discrete gatherings as they worked and that, treating each gathering, or a group of gatherings, as a unit there was a sequence of execution in which there were five stages towards the completion of the illustration and decoration of this manuscript.

Once the entire manuscript had been written,<sup>5</sup> the first process in any gathering was for the illustration to be drawn, secondly these illustrations were metalled and painted, thirdly the foliate initials were drawn, fourthly the flourish initials were painted, and, finally, the foliate initials were gilded, if necessary, and painted. Gathering by gathering, except for the fourth,<sup>6</sup> the processes completed were as follows.



gathering:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
stage completed:	III	V	IV		III	II	II

gathering:	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
stage completed:	II	I-II	I	I-II	I	I	I-II

Each stage would thus have been completed across the whole gathering before any work on the next stage in this sequence was started.

In only one gathering, ff.9-16, are all the decorative elements completed,<sup>7</sup> although no gathering has less than the drawing of the illustrations achieved. Only one stage, perhaps the most involved and time-consuming, the painting of the illustrations, was incompletely achieved across any gathering. Furthermore, within these incompletely painted gatherings, (9, 11 and 14) are the only incompletely painted miniatures (ff.72v., 83, 87v. and 111).<sup>8</sup> The fact that these gatherings contain completed miniatures, unpainted drawings and just one or two illustrations where painting has been started supports the view that work at a particular stage was completed throughout a gathering or group of gatherings before other decorations were added. These incompletely painted miniatures argue against a systematic division of labour with different parts of a miniature being painted by different artists. Had that been so one would expect several miniatures to be at the same level of partial

completion but this is not the case in fr.343: f.72v. appears to have had the building and ground painted; f.83 the areas for metalling had bole applied; in f.87v. the ground area and horses are painted but the figures are neither fully metalled or painted nor have they been shaded with hatching; f.111 has only the flat areas of colour applied to the buildings and, although the orange-red wall is complete, the lilac is half-applied.<sup>9</sup> On two of these miniatures, f.87v. and 111, work was actually in progress when painting on the manuscript came to an abrupt end. We have already seen that the illustrations of this manuscript were carried out in two styles, and 87v. has characteristics of painting done in the collaborator's style whilst f.111 appears to be painted in the style of Latin 757. One is tempted to imagine some sudden occurrence causing both painters to abandon the miniature upon which they were engaged.

Although there is a systematic sequence to the stages of decoration within each gathering as described above, there is no discernible or comprehensible pattern of work throughout the manuscript as a whole, beyond the fact that work in the first five gatherings had advanced farther than in those gatherings that follow and, in turn, gatherings 6 to 8 were more advanced than 9 to 14. These differences are perhaps

not sufficiently great or widespread to be regarded as significant but they do correspond with changes in the role played by the two styles of illustration. The first five gatherings were all drawn in the style of Latin 757, although all gatherings except the second include painting in both styles, whilst gatherings 6 to 14 were shared intact between each style for drawing and gatherings 6 to 8 also seem to have been painted in the drawn style. Perhaps this shows that the manuscript was divided into sections of gatherings whilst it was being illuminated. The implications of such a procedure will be discussed later.

Modena, Bibl. Estense, Latin 862

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusion about the Modena Hours, partly because so little work was completed and partly because the extent of the later painters' dependence upon the early drawing is not certainly recognisable. It is obvious that the miniatures drawn and painted on ff.21v., 22 and 37v., the historiated initial and border on f.23, and the ten three-line-high initials within the gathering, ff.23-30, were all drawn and painted in the style found in Latin 757. The three-line-high initials with sprays up to and including f.43v. in the following gatherings and the border on f.43 are all so close in form yet differing in colour when compared to the previous work that they would seem to have been painted by later

painters following the drawing of the early campaign.<sup>10</sup> The uniformity of the one-line-high initials throughout the volume suggests that they belong to the later painting. There is no evidence in this manuscript of any figural work drawn during the first campaign which was not painted in the first campaign: although none of the decoration of the gathering ff.31-38 had been painted, the miniature on the last folio, f.37v., was completed and, conversely, even though the border forms on f.43 (ill. 91) would appear to be based on an early drawing, the in-fill to the historiated initial bears no relation to the early style. Similarly the angels announcing the birth of Christ on f.38 (ill. 90) show no debt to the early style, although their presence was envisaged not only by the scribe but also the designer of the miniature on f.37v. (ill. 89), for the shepherds in the top right of the Nativity look out and across to the right.<sup>11</sup>

The fact that the drawing of decorative forms up to and including f.43v., and drawing and painting of the miniature on f.37v., are the extent of the early work completed in that gathering could be taken as showing the extent of one artist's contribution to the gathering, assuming that another painter would now take over the painting of the initials whilst the designer/painter moved onto the third gathering.

This would fit in with the division of roles which will be suggested for Smith-Lesouëf 22. It could, however, equally be the case that one man was to be responsible for the decoration and illustration of the entire volume and was simply drawing sufficient decorative elements for it to be worth mixing the colours, before starting to paint them. With so little work carried out there is no way of deciding one way or the other.

Paris, B.N. Smith-Lesouëf 22

At first glance the process of decoration in the first campaign of Smith-Lesouëf 22 appears equally inscrutable, for almost all of the decorative features and illustrations were completed, and even augmented, by later illuminators. Fortunately the later work differs so markedly, in both the technique and colour of painting, and the forms of drawing, that a quite precise allocation to one campaign or the other is possible for even the smallest elements.<sup>12</sup> By distinguishing the different processes attributable to early or later painting it is possible to determine the different levels of completion at which various sections were left when the first painters gave up work on it.

As it must be the first stage, one would expect some folios to have been left with the illustration

and decoration only having been drawn as is the case in fr.343. In fact some of the miniatures in Smith-Lesouëf 22, whilst being painted in the distinctive acid colours and metal pigments of the Master of the Birago Hours, reproduce the forms and types of the illustration of Latin 757, for example the Baptism of St Augustine on f.213 (ill. 78). This is in strong contrast to the compositions which were inserted, or added over erasures, by the later painters. From this it is clear that the intended miniatures up to f.223 were drawn during the first campaign, although they were not painted beyond f.89.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, all the historiated initials (the final one is on f.265) were drawn in the style of Latin 757, although from f.106 they were painted during the later campaign (ill. 79).<sup>14</sup>

This appears also to have been the fate of the two-line-high initials and border sprays. It would, of course, have been easier for the later painters to copy these elements of the first campaign than it would have been to emulate the miniature style, for the early folios themselves could have furnished a full repertory of the decorative forms. If, however, there was sufficient concern for homogeneity to motivate such a borrowing of forms, one would expect the colours and details to reflect it also. In fact, although the two-line-high initials and sprays throughout the book are composed of the same forms, foliage and dragon

grotesques, there is a marked divergence in the painting of those found in the second part of the manuscript<sup>15</sup> and it is very likely that all of the two-line-high initials and border sprays had been drawn when the early painters left work on the book.

It seems then that the tasks of drawing the illustrations, and the initials and borders, were treated separately and had been differentially achieved: all initials, both historiated and foliate, and all of the borders, except those sprays at the corners of the full-page miniatures, had been drawn but the miniatures themselves had only been drawn up to f.223.<sup>16</sup> Such a division, but with a different priority, has already been seen in fr.343.

The next process in the decoration of a page must have been the application of the ground to receive gold-leaf. Not only are parts of the borders and two-line initials coloured with burnished gold but so too are the staves of alternate flourish initials within the text and the foliation at the top of each recto. The forms of the blue letters used for one-line text capitals and foliation are different on those folios painted entirely by the Master of the Birago Hours from those on folios painted entirely in the style of Latin 757. They conform to the type of initials seen in the Birago Hours.<sup>17</sup> On some folios painted in the

colours of the Birago Hours the gilded foliation and initials are of the forms customary to the style of Latin 757, in contrast to the alternate letters of blue. There must therefore have been a stage at the end of the early campaign of painting at which some folios, as well as having had all decorative elements drawn, also had the alternate text capitals and letters of the foliation formed with a bole ground or even gilded.

On the basis of this distinction between the forms of the gold letters and the forms of the blue letters, it appears that during the first campaign of decoration all the alternate one-line-high initials and foliation were gilded up to f.208v. No folios after this point have any letters of either blue or gold conforming to the shapes used on those folios painted in the style of Latin 757. All folios on which the later types of blue one-line initials and their complementary contrast flourishes are found in conjunction with early gold one-line initials also have all other decorative elements, borders and initials painted by later artists. Since, conversely, there are no folios where early style blue one-line initials or flourish decoration are to be found with later-painted border decorations it seems that once the one-line-high letters had been boled or gilded, the painting of all the decorative elements was treated as a single



process or stage.

There are folios where this process, the painting of the decorative elements, has been completed but for 'finishing off'. Any naturalistic figural inclusions, either in the border or large-initial infill, have not been painted and neither has the outlining in black or decorating in white, both presumably done with a quill, been added to the foliage or staves.<sup>18</sup> For example on f.109 where the border sprays etc. have been painted in the pigments used during the first campaign, but the historiated infill is of the later style. On f.169, where the sprays lack an outline, a bird in the border is not painted, this appears to be the state at which the early painter left this folio. Similarly the naturalistic bird's head on the grotesque in the border of f.151v. is the only unpainted feature.

The unfinished folios are all pairs which make up one side of a bifolio. All of the fully painted folios within the partially decorated gatherings are similarly placed, showing that painting proceeded across a bifolio at a time. The decoration of the entire bifolio was brought to a uniform level of completion.

If the full-page miniatures are disregarded for the moment there appear then to have been four stages in the decoration of the folios: firstly, historiated

initials and borders and two-line-high initials with sprays were drawn; secondly, the foliation and one-line-high initials which were to be gold, were drawn, bole was applied to them and possibly they were gilded; thirdly, the borders, sprays and non-figurative elements of both historiated and two-line-high initials were painted and the blue one-line-high initials and the flourishes of both blue and gold initials were painted; fourthly, the decoration was 'finished off' with pen-work, and any figurative inclusions in borders of historiated initials were painted.<sup>19</sup>

The completion of these stages across the manuscript appears to have been as follows.

gatherings 1-15, ff.1-88	stage IV
gathering 16, ff.89-96	bifolio 89/96 stage II only, but the rest to stage IV
gathering 17, ff.97-104	stage IV
gathering 18, ff.105-112	stage II but for bifolio 108/109 which was incomplete stage III

gathering 19, ff.113-119

stage II

gathering 20-30, ff.120-208

all folios to  
stage II, some folios  
in each gathering to  
at least stage III  
and usually some  
folios to stage IV<sup>20</sup>

gatherings 31-54, ff.209-375

stage I

As for the full-page miniatures, these were completed up to f.84, or possibly f.89, from which a border was erased before the miniature of the Expulsion from Paradise was painted by the Master of the Birago Hours. From this point until f.223 all the planned miniatures were drawn during the early campaign, ff.119v., 168v., 213 (ill. 78) and 223, but there is no reason to suppose that any of the full-page miniatures in the rest of the manuscript were drawn by the time that work in the earlier style ceased. Subsequent folios integral with the original composition of the book, which were left blank by the scribe to receive miniatures, either remain blank, ff.264v., 353v. and 359v., or contain miniatures unrelated in style to Latin 757, ff.285v. (ill. 80) and 348v. The competition for space and the overlap of pigments on those folios with

full-page miniatures painted in the style of Latin 757 appear to show that when the miniatures were drawn there was no foliation. Furthermore, they indicate that the gold foliation preceded the painting of the border sprays, and presumably therefore the miniatures, and then the blue foliation was added: see ff.15, 24, 45 and 84 (ills 66, 68, 74 and 76). The sequence of work on miniature pages is essentially the same as that on the decorated pages, except for the miniatures themselves. These appear to have been painted before the stage III painting.

From this breakdown, it looks very much as if the manuscript was divided into at least three sections for the purpose of decorating it: the first, ff.1-88, where all work both drawn and painted was completed; the second, ff.89-208, in which all elements were drawn and which was in the process of being painted; the third, ff.209-375, which included no work beyond the drawing stages, and the drawing of full-page miniatures was not completed.<sup>21</sup>

The most obvious reason for such a division would have been to facilitate the simultaneous work of more than one painter upon the book. It would make sense for a designer to draw the borders and initials and then to pass these on to other, perhaps less skilled, painters for the more limited and repetitive task of adding the gold letters, and subsequently, for the

painting of the decorative elements. It is obvious from those folios which have not been 'finished off', how dependent these forms are upon the pen-work outline and decoration for their final definition and it is possible that for this finishing off the folios were passed to a more accomplished draughtsman. The fact that the one-line-high initials appear to have been drawn separately from the other decorative forms on each page implies that these tasks were the responsibility of different designers: yet the interleaving of these tasks, clear on f.95, points up the close contact between the two.<sup>22</sup>

In so far as it was completed in the fourteenth century both the drawing and the gilding could have been undertaken in a straightforward progression throughout each section, perhaps each as the continuous work of one person. In contrast the decorative features painted in the middle section are scattered throughout the gatherings. Although all the stage III work has been completed on both sides of each bifolio that has been started,<sup>23</sup> the position of these painted pages within gatherings of this section seems entirely haphazard. One explanation for this variation could be that with one man responsible for all the drawing there would be no problem during stage I in keeping all the folios in order but after this, either in allowing the boled ground to dry or due to the participation of more than one person in gilding, the

order of the folios was disrupted. It is perhaps significant that all painted bifolios of gatherings 20 to 30 do appear to be the work of a single painter and amount to about half of the total number of bifolios of that section as though the other half had been allocated to another painter.<sup>24</sup>

If, however, there is evidence in the pattern of completed work to show that more than one person was engaged upon the early decoration of Smith-Lesouëf 22, it also seems to suggest that at the most no more than three or four painters were involved. Although it is conceivable that just two artists were at work on the book, a designer who would have been responsible for all stage I and IV work and a gilder/painter, responsible for all stage II and III, stylistic variations make it appear that more than one person was involved at some levels: for example, there are variations in the forms of gold and blue letters, see ff.15 and 84 (ills 66 and 76), as well as variations in finish of the miniatures, analagous to those observed in Latin 757.<sup>25</sup>

A division between different 'hands' on the basis of an analysis of the style of painting is more than usually dangerous in circumstances like these when, on one hand, the drawing has to be disregarded and, on the other, the succession of stages of work demonstrates the intimate involvement and close contact of those at work on the book. Both of these factors contribute to

the uniformity of appearance of illustration in this style. This is emphasized by the gathering containing Vespers, ff.49-56, which was, originally entirely, decorated by the illuminator of f.1 of B.N. Latin 11727. Here, although ostensibly with decoration of the same type as the rest of the early painting in Smith-Lesouëf 22, all elements are obviously drawn and painted in a different style, all go together and are contained within and complete one gathering, feasibly produced in a different workshop. Furthermore, the contrast between, on the one hand, the distribution of work and pattern of completion in manuscripts painted in the style of Latin 757 and, on the other, that found in contemporary Lombard manuscripts reinforces the idea of the style of Latin 757 as the product of a small group of closely collaborating illuminators.

### Comparisons

The Hours of Isabelle of Castile, the Hague, Royal Library, ms. 76 F.6<sup>26</sup> was also left unfinished by its earliest decorator, the Master of the Modena Hours. Again some folios show the characteristic formal qualities of the early style of illumination coloured with pigments characteristic of the later style, once more suggesting that some folios had only been drawn when the first campaign of decoration ceased. In this manuscript, however, these folios are few in number

and contained within one gathering, ff.13-21. Of this gathering one complete bifolio was unpainted, both sides of ff.15 and 18, one folio, f.20r. and v., was unpainted and one side of a bifolio, f.16v. and 17 was only partly painted; clearly the illuminator was at work on this gathering when his employment was stopped. There is no evidence elsewhere in the manuscript of any work drawn in the early style and, apart from the partially painted side f.16v. and 17, any page that has any of the illustrative or decorative elements painted has all of the illustrative and decorative elements painted. In contrast to the division of the overall task which we have seen in Smith-Lesouëf 22, it would appear that the entire illumination of the Hours of Isabelle of Castile was regarded as a unit and as the responsibility of just one artist who was working fairly systematically through the book,<sup>27</sup> neither concentrating his efforts on one element of the decoration nor upon those bifolios where one type of decoration fell.

This latter criterion was the basis for the division of work in the Coronation Missal of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare di Sant' Ambrogio, ms. 6.<sup>28</sup> Anovelo da Imbonate signed f.153v. (ill. 179) hoc de Imbonate opus fecit Anovelus, and he was obviously responsible for the historiated initials throughout the book<sup>29</sup> both by analogy with the large



signed miniature and the documented illumination of the Missal of Sta Tecla.<sup>30</sup> In addition to the historiated initials introducing individual masses there are painted two-line-high initials throughout the text. These are of two distinct types, the most common have a gold ground with blue or pink staves lined with yellow and a contrasting infill of pink or blue with small orange and green foliage. The other type is more flamboyant: staves of pink and blue extend into the margin and form long spurs of blue into pink; these are all placed against a burnished gold ground which forms cusped curves and bars with spurs which terminate in gold trefoils. The tendril infill is usually of a dull light green with pink and blue. The colours used for this second type of initial, the forms and the pen-work flourishes, favouring dotted circles and crosses, are characteristic of Anovelo's work. This type of initial is found only on those bifolios where Anovelo has painted a historiated initial. All initials on those bifolios are of this type. Thus it appears that there was a distribution of work on this manuscript, which was determined by the skill required for the figural illustration, but the collaboration was not one of close colleagues responsible for different decorative elements upon the same page. All bifolios requiring illustration were separated from the manuscript and

were the responsibility of Anovelo, the remainder were allocated to another less proficient painter who worked in an unrelated style, and quite possibly in another place.

As in the Hours of Isabelle of Castile, the illuminator has a more discrete contribution to the decoration of this manuscript than the different levels of completion and distribution of work suggest was the case in Smith-Lesouëf 22. These imply a quite different workshop organisation and approach to cooperative work.

#### Patterns of collaboration

The procedure, suggested above by the pattern of the work in Smith-Lesouëf 22, and the variation within details of the designs of one artist being painted by others is compatible with what we have already observed in the illustrations of both fr.343 and Latin 757, and must be the fundamental reason for the overall homogeneity of the miniatures and decoration found in the manuscripts of this style.<sup>31</sup>

The order and organisation of work observable in Smith-Lesouëf 22 should not, however, be accepted as standard for works decorated in this style. It is clear for example that, in the case of fr.343, where too there is a distinction between the different elements of illumination, and evidence of a close collaboration between at least two painters, work was

organised so that the predominant task, in that book the illustration, could be carried out first. In contrast, in Smith-Lesouëf 22 where the decorative elements formed the greater part of the illuminator's task, work was organised to enable efficient completion of that component. In the case of n.a.lat.1673, the Tacuinum Sanitatis one sees a situation more comparable with the contribution of Anovelo in the Coronation Missal. Work in the style of Latin 757 is restricted to both sides of two bifolios, a distinct and discrete contribution to a manuscript largely in unrelated styles.<sup>32</sup> The nature of this collaboration is entirely different from the joint participation on a single bifolio, which can be seen in the other manuscripts of the group. Even though these earlier manuscripts may have been left incomplete they appear to have been intended for decoration entirely in the style of Latin 757. The fact that the Tacuinum miniatures in this style are both separable from the work of the other illuminators and seem, uniquely in this manuscript, to be the uniform work of a single illuminator, may suggest that at this date the designer of Latin 757 was working on his own.

There are then clear modifications to practice, which change according to the type of decoration, the exigencies of the task in hand and most probably with changes in the composition of the workshop itself.

## PLANNING AND SUPERVISION

Although some suggestions for the practical arrangements and procedure behind the painting of these books have been possible on the basis of the surviving manuscripts they are less instructive on the more creative and compositional side, the processes and decisions concerning the extent and programme of the illustration and the precise form that it should take.

### Planning of the illustrative programme

We have already seen that the number and position of most of the decorative features and the miniatures was determined by the scribes for the Books of Hours in Modena and Paris, and for fr.343.<sup>33</sup> In none of these, however, is the illustration invariably coincident with, or restricted by, the apparent intentions of the scribe. None shows the dramatic divergence of the Hours of Blanche of Savoy, where twenty-one of the thirty-five miniatures are tipped-in, but each shows a sufficient departure to make it highly improbable that the scribes were in any direct contact with the painters or that they provided them with written instructions beyond the customary small cursive letters beside the spaces left for painted initials.<sup>34</sup> For in either of those cases, had the planning of the illustration been the responsibility of the scribes, one would not expect it to have been

necessary to insert a bifolio to carry the Annunciation of the Modena Hours or a folio for the Betrayal in Smith-Lesouëf 22. Nor perhaps would the illustrations of fr.343 spread so impractically into any available border. Perhaps the most telling of these inconsistencies is the misplacement of introductory miniatures in Latin 757, resulting from the illuminators' misunderstanding of the scribes' lay-out of some sections.<sup>35</sup> Clearly the scribes worked to an idea of the extent of the illustration and decoration that the finished manuscript should contain but the lack of rapport between the finished illumination and their plans denies the possibility that they instructed the painters on what precisely should be painted.

Nonetheless there are notes relating to the miniatures in two manuscripts of this group. In Latin 757 simple inscriptions can be seen through the pigment of the miniatures on ff.343v. and 364v. (ills 39 and 63). Beneath the pavement of the Incredulity of St Thomas is written s. thomas apli and the miniature of the Penitent Magdalene receiving the Host from an angel has the word madalen visible through the paint. Neither of these could be regarded as a precise instruction, particularly in regard to the uncommon subject matter of the second miniature. It may be relevant that each of these miniatures is on the verso

of a folio which, when the gathering was separated for painting, would no longer face the rubric of the mass it should introduce. In a section of the manuscript where the miniatures come thick and fast the designer may have jotted a reminder to himself before disrupting the order.<sup>36</sup>

Smith-Lesouëf 22 contains apparent instructions to illuminators but, since these fall in the latter part of the manuscript, it seems likely that they belong to the second campaign of painting rather than to that in the style of Latin 757. Most of the two-line-high initials which were painted in the later style have a small o in the margin next to them. This was presumably an abbreviation for oro and indicated to the gilder that this initial should receive a gold ground or cusped bars. The other instruction in this book is more inscrutable. On f.375v. there is what appears to be a nine-word direction in an informal cursive hand:

'hic

ponat yhs in throno \_\_\_\_ in ultima (?) \_\_\_\_\_'

There is no way of knowing either the date this was added to the book or why, if it does reflect an intention to have a miniature of Christ in Judgement, one should have been planned for a folio at the end of the manuscript, facing a blank and after the Benedictio domus.

There is no sign of any comparable instruction on ff.264v., 353v. and 359v., where the scribes had allowed for miniatures but which were not painted during either campaign. Neither do the unpainted folios left for miniatures to introduce the Hours of the Virgin in Modena Latin 862 nor the drawings of fr.343 show any trace of notation. It seems unlikely then that any such written instruction was put into the manuscript before it reached the first illuminators. It is of course possible that instructions or drawings, like those found in manuscripts produced in other regions,<sup>37</sup> could have been placed in the margins and erased or trimmed off before binding but there is no evidence in support of such a suggestion. An intermediary would have been superfluous if the designer of the miniatures was responsible for their content and form, following the text of the manuscript itself.<sup>38</sup> For many of the illustrations in the Books of Hours this would not demand a developed literary ability but the illustrations of the Lancelot du lac, fr.343, could only be formulated by someone with either a reading knowledge of French or a model to copy. The incorporation into these scenes of figures, or even groups of figures, from the inappropriate cycle of the Guiron manuscript make it extremely unlikely that an illustrated exemplum was being followed.<sup>39</sup>

### The co-ordination of production

This raises the question of who was taking on the role of overseeing the production of these manuscripts, a question to which all answers are speculative. The lack of co-ordination between the text and the illustration suggests that neither the scribe nor the illuminator was in overall control, nor perhaps any specialist with a developed understanding of the requirements and integration of the various components which make up an illustrated book. The occasional snippets of information in connection with other Lombard manuscripts of the period which throw some light on this question seem to point to the patron or some educated member of his household taking on this role.

Two Lombard manuscripts of around 1400 include a record of the costs involved in producing the book. On f.192 of Latin 8028, a copy of Seneca's Tragoediae in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the owner of the book, Augustinus Fazardus<sup>40</sup> wrote

'Liber iste finitus fuit mcccciii die quinto-decimo mensis novembris. Et pro huius libri ornamento videlicet ii miniatura decem capitulorum & pro litteris parvis numero dccc ad computum solidorum quator pro singulo cento papien. et pro litteris magnis numero cvi et pro paragrafis mcxx computata expensa dictorum



decem capitulorum ad computum medii floren.  
 pro singule capitulo, et computata expensa  
 cartarum et scripture de qua nulla fit ibi  
 mentio, facta est expensa ex bursata  
 Aug(ustinum) Fazardum in summa librarum  
 duodecim solidos novem.'

The breakdown of expenses, itemising the individual decorative elements separately from the expense of parchment and writing 'de qua nulla fit ibi mentio', is strongly suggestive of the separation of these tasks and Augustinus' direct payment for the illumination.<sup>41</sup>

In the Missal of Sta Tecla, ms. II, D.I.2 of the Biblioteca Capitolare of the Cathedral in Milan,<sup>42</sup> a notice on f.215 gives the date 1402 and lists the canons of the church of Sta Tecla; then follows an account of the costs of the Missal which were paid from the oblations given by the commune of Milan on the feasts of the Virgin of the Snows and of Santa Tecla. The list of expenses is a detailed account giving the names of the craftsmen involved in completing the book; the scribe, the illuminator, the silversmith and the binder.

'In primis pro cartis libre sedicim et solidi  
 nove imperiales.

Item pro magistro protasio de salimbenis pro  
 scriptura libre quadraginta tres & solidi quator.

Item pro Magistro Anvello de imbonate pro aminiatam

libre octuagintanove et solidi sex.

Item pro georgino de codognola fabro per ontias  
deceocto et quartam unam argenti fino pro  
saraturis quator et clavis decem superauratis  
et smaldatis cum figuris beate virginis marie  
et sanctarum Tegle et Pelagie martyrum libre  
quadraginta & solidi tres.

Item ontias quator et mediam argenta fini pro  
clavis parvis superauratis nonagintocto positis  
circumquaque libre nove.

Item pro una sporeta argenti fini superaurati  
solidi sedicim.

Item pro viluto celestino libre quator.

Item pro tesuto libre una & solidi quator.

Item pro presbitero fatio de castoldis per  
ligatura cum expensis libre quator.

Item pro pictura cartarum foris circumquaque  
solidi octo.

Soma est libre ducentocto solidi decem.'

Again the way these expenses are listed suggests  
that the canons were directly involved in commissioning,  
and paying separately for, each contribution to the  
book. The portrait on f.87v. of frater Marcholino is  
usually taken to represent Marcoli Toschani, named  
as canevarius on f.215, and to single him out as  
responsible for arranging the production of this book.<sup>43</sup>

Similarly, the records concerning the manufacture  
of illuminated manuscripts for the cathedral in Milan

show that in no case did the fabbrica envisage that the whole task of book production could be taken on by just one supervising craftsman. In the case of the Beroldus, Milan, Biblioteca Trivulziana, cod. 2262, each individual was paid separately: Andriolus de Medicis de Novati for buying the parchment and copying the text; Salomone de' Grassi for the illumination; Comello de Conizo for binding.<sup>44</sup>

In none of these cases does the manuscript seem to result from a commission placed with an entrepreneur, comparable with the 'stationnaires' active in Paris during this period,<sup>45</sup> but rather from a more direct transaction between the patron and the craftsmen. Since the manuscripts in the style of Latin 757 were at once so individual and so lavish, at least as their decoration was planned, it seems most likely that they were produced in a similar fashion, and that their composition and format resulted from the interaction of individual artists and the patron or his agent.<sup>46</sup>

The personal involvement of the purchaser, and the limited range of speculative production of books in Lombardy in the fifteenth century are shown in the accounts of the Borromeo family of Milan. Payments for books quite often appear added to those made to the priests who acted as schoolteacher to the family children. This occurs not only when the books were to be used by the children but also when they were to be specially made for adult members of the household.

Then, in contrast to the small payments, like those made in 1427 to the libraio Andreino Corte for 'libri e fattura di libri', a series of payments is recorded which gives a breakdown of costs, similar to that seen in the Missal of Sta Tecla. In one case, for a Book of Hours made for Conte Vitaliano in 1471, the total costs included a payment for 'una bereta morela donata a prete Ambrosio da sancto piero perche fece fare le soprascripte cose'. At this time Ambrogio was schoolmaster to two of the children but his involvement in overseeing the production of Vitaliano's Hours was perhaps not only because of his experience in the purchase of manuscripts but also for the advice that he as chaplain could offer on the contents of a devotional book.<sup>47</sup>

Books of Hours were less widely used in Lombardy when Bertrando de' Rossi was having Latin 757 made for him and perhaps his confessor too played some part in the compilation of these Hours.<sup>48</sup> Whoever was responsible for deciding upon the extent, always partly established by what the patron was prepared to spend and the precise subject-matter of the illustrations, few of the miniatures in the Books of Hours in the style of Latin 757 are of a sufficiently complex or recondite iconography to suggest that a detailed prescription would have been drawn up for the

illuminator to follow.<sup>49</sup> A few observations on the means of composition evident in these books encourage the notion of the freedom given to the illuminator in the treatment of each scene.

#### Approach to composition in the style of Latin 757

The common stock of types and forms which reappears throughout these manuscripts and is one of the features which so distinctively groups them together has already been noted.<sup>50</sup> This recurrence of motifs suggests the use of a model book where favoured or complicated figures or buildings could be recorded and drawn upon.<sup>51</sup> The finished miniatures, however, rarely show an exact duplication. A comparison of the Annunciation miniature in all three Books of Hours in the style of Latin 757, Modena, Latin 862, ff.21v. and 22, B.N. Latin 757, f.302v. and Smith-Lesouëf 22, f.84, (ills 84, 37 and 76) demonstrates how each scene is quite independently conceived in the type and posture of both Gabriel and the Virgin, with an increase in agitation in each treatment of the subject. Yet the temple housing the Virgin in Smith-Lesouëf 22, the latest of these miniatures, has several features in common with that of the Modena Hours, the earliest. Even so in Smith-Lesouëf 22 an octagonal drum and lantern and a centrally-viewed apse modify the earlier setting to accent the figure of the Virgin. This fresh approach to each

composition, incorporating and adapting elements used before, is characteristic of this style and demonstrative of a lively invention. This is coupled with a sharp eye for the convincing and attractive solutions of other artists, for the same free and confident amalgamation is made with motifs drawn from other sources.<sup>52</sup>

Some of the most ambitious illustrations of the Lancelot, fr.343, depend upon the selection and combination of dramatic groupings of figures quoted from the Guiron manuscript, n.a.fr.5243. The battle on f.33 of fr.343 has already been shown to contain a pair of figures taken from f.42v. of the Guiron (ills 103 and 172);<sup>53</sup> other participants in the melee of f.33 reappear in other skirmishes of the Lancelot. The central knight, with his sword swung back behind his head and his horse's head tightly reined into his chest, features again to the right of centre in the drawing of a battle on f.107 (ill 107); the pair of combatants, the knight in profile holding a shield and striking a blow on the helmet of a knight who grasps a sword in both hands, are used in the tournament on f.4v. (ill. 94). It seems probable that missing folios from the Guiron provided the models for these groups too and, once a particularly effective and accomplished figure had attracted the attention of the designer of these scenes in fr.343, he did not

hesitate to use them wherever appropriate.

Even in these cases, however, where there is an obvious reliance on a model the designer shows a reluctance to exactly duplicate. The borrowed figures from the Guiron are usually modified to be less extreme in their positions or gestures in the Lancelot<sup>54</sup> and, where figures or groups make more than one appearance in the Lancelot, there are always some adjustments to adapt them to a different context. The battling pair mentioned above are shown to be facing one another on f.33 (ill. 103), yet on f.4v. (ill. 94) the knight receiving the blow to the head is riding away from his assailant and the curve to his body is here interpreted as twisting round upon his saddle. Details such as the angles of swords, arms and bodies reveal that all these figures were drawn free-hand and there is no evidence of tracing in drawings in the style of Latin 757. On both ff.77v. and 84v. a virtually identical horse and rider are drawn, but each has been drawn afresh. The figures on f.77v. are marginally smaller but there are no signs of scoring and on each folio the preliminary metalpoint outline shows alterations.<sup>55</sup>

The drawings of the collaborating artist of fr.343 show a quite different response. Although his designs seem also to be indebted to the Guiron manuscript<sup>56</sup> his borrowings are usually less literal than those drawn in the style of Latin 757, probably because they are of less ambitious and complex figures.

On the other hand the collaborator's compositions are less freely and freshly composed. Both aspects of his work result in his compositions being more limited and more repetitive. One of the short cuts that he takes is to score around the design on one side of a folio and use the resulting raised line on the verso as the basis for the design on that side: on f.92 the knight approaching a castle is scored through onto the verso and used again, similarly the building and foreground horse and rider on f.94 and its verso. The horses drawn on f.93v. have scored outlines which come through on to the recto and this group seems to be repeated on f.89v., where they are also scored, with the exception of those parts of the composition, one of the forelegs and the rider of the right-hand horse, which differ from f.93v. The measurements of these figures are the same on both folios; presumably the design was transferred by means of a pressure tracing made with a stylus.<sup>57</sup> The contrast between these methods of putting together an illustration and that of the designer working in the style of Latin 757 emphasizes and elucidates the inventive, lively approach of the latter.

In the same way that the Guiron manuscript furnished appropriate figures for another Arthurian romance, so the designs of Latin 757 and the other



Books of Hours in this style drew upon an appropriate, earlier Book of Hours, The Hours of Blanche of Savoy, Munich, Staatsbibl., Latin 23215. It seems likely, however, that in this case there was a more direct involvement with the workshop responsible for the Munich manuscript.<sup>58</sup>

The relationship between the lay-out and border forms of the Latin 757 group and the Munich manuscript has already been discussed,<sup>59</sup> and there are some quite precise borrowings of figures and architectural forms from the miniatures.

This manuscript, in fact, seems to be the source of the building in the Annunciation miniatures, (compare ill. 127 with ill. 84, 37 and 76). In a manner analogous to the quotations from the Guiron manuscript, it is in the earliest use that there is the closest adherence. In the Modena Hours Gabriel too is based on the Munich miniature, as is the manner of Christ's conception: the dove of the Holy Spirit is joined by an Infant Christ as it wings its way to the Virgin. In the Modena Hours, though, the composition has been spread over both sides of a page-opening and a submissive, kneeling Virgin balances the figure of Gabriel to give a more integrated and coherent design. Even in a more straightforward borrowing from the Munich Hours, which is used for the

miniature of St Michael, Munich, f.20lv. and Latin 757, f.357v. (ills 152 and 42), minor adjustments are made to improve the design. The composition is essentially the same but is transposed into more decorative forms and colours, the figures are in a better position in relation to the miniature field and the wings have been adjusted to form a continuous contour linking the two protagonists, emphasizing St Michael's dominance and victory over the falling Lucifer.

Such borrowings are not only taken from manuscript prototypes but from other media too. Luisa Cogliati-Arano has pointed out the similarity of Pilate on f.34v. (ill. 69) of Smith-Lesouëf 22 with the same character on the high altar of Sant' Eustorgio, Milan.<sup>60</sup> This is the only identified example of a borrowing from sculpture. The most compelling comparisons to show a dependence upon earlier sources in other media are between figures, or groups of figures seen in the Passion cycles of the two de' Rossi Hours and the Crucifixion frescoes of the oratories of Lentate and Solaro. On f.82 (ill. 13) of Latin 757 the group made up of two women supporting the fainting Virgin is based on the same figures in the Crucifixion of Solaro (Matalon and Mazzini, Affreschi..., 1958, pl. 35). The stance of the women, the position of their hands, even the details of drapery, are closely replicated. In both

paintings the end of the mantle of the woman on the left is thrown back over her shoulder to reveal the lining and her colleague has the Virgin's mantle bunched in her left hand. The figure of the mounted centurion behind this group is more like the comparable figure in the fresco at Lentate and wears the same type of helmet with the visor raised (Matalon, Mazzini, Affreschi..., 1958, pl.37).

Lentate too appears to be the source of the Holy Woman on the left of the Deposition on f.85 (ill. 14) of Latin 757 and supporting the Virgin in the Crucifixion on f.45 (ill. 74) of Smith-Lesouëf 22. The heavy tubular, concentric folds of her drapery, and the ridge of her headdress showing beneath her mantle can be recognised in the woman standing on the left of the Lentate Crucifixion.

Although these are the only instances so far identified, they are not likely to have been the full extent to which this style drew upon works in other styles and media. Another, less specifically artistic source is frankly reflected in many of these miniatures, the painters' own environment. These manuscripts are well known for their representation of contemporary dress and courtly fashion<sup>61</sup> but the housing as well as the clothing of these characters must have been familiar to the patrons of these books. Although many of the buildings represented are either simplified or of a rather generalised appearance,

several of the more ambitious structures are described in an obviously Lombard vocabulary. Again, as one would expect in these paintings, it is not a series of precise portraits that are seen but imaginative creations within familiar terms.

Many of the castles and churches which are the background to the Quest for the Holy Grail in fr.343 are reminiscent of buildings still extant in Milan and its environs. The castle on f.9 has a black and white diapered pattern on its exterior walls, not unlike the traces now exposed at the rear of the Arcivescovado in the via delle Ore in Milan (ill. 185). The church in which the knights take their oaths on f.7 (Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, fig. 322) has lateral bulkheads on the roof, a North Italian feature<sup>62</sup> found for example on S. Bassiano in Lodivecchio. The splendid tower in the right-hand margin of this folio, although it is built up of stock architectural forms of these manuscripts, the crown, drum and twin lancet windows with oculi, conveys an impression of a crossing tower like that of the abbey church of Chiaravalle. In the miniature it does not correspond to a crossing inside the church but rather owes its presence to the opportunity that a wide, blank margin offered for an exuberant composition. The tower on the church on f.10v. (ill. 95) has a crown very like that of f.7

but the lower stages with their varied windows and corbel tables and decorative string courses make a hexagonal tower related to that of S. Gottardo in Corte, Milan (ill. 186).

In the miniature of the Nativity from the Modena Book of Hours the townscape behind the stable has several buildings evocative of Milan. There is another hexagonal tower which culminates in an arcaded crown but this one also has the white en delit columns of S. Gottardo's tower. In the miniature there is a white facade behind this tower, with a curving gable surmounted by statues. This design seems to reflect the facade of Sta Maria Maggiore, the winter cathedral of Milan, <sup>partly</sup> demolished to make way for the new cathedral in 1386.<sup>63</sup>

In the one instance, f.114v. (ill. 16), where it is probable that a portrait of a real building was intended<sup>64</sup> there is the same freedom in assembling and even describing the characteristic features of the church: two towers of differing forms, an arcaded drum over the crossing beneath it, a dome on squinches with an apse beyond, aisles with galleries but no clerestory, and a prominent pulpit. These are all features of the real Sant' Ambrogio but not one is in precisely the form represented in the miniature.<sup>65</sup>

It seems that the buildings which surrounded the designer of each of these miniatures provided a series of individual components, much like a child's old-fashioned, wooden building-set made up of windows,

columns, gables and masonry blocks, which were selected, reused and rearranged in order to provide an environment always varied but always familiar.<sup>66</sup> In fact this is much the same approach as that shown in the assemblage of other motifs to people and participate in the miniatures of these books.

There is an imaginative adaptation and development of original ideas and forms, those picked up from other manuscripts or media and selective observations of reality. Models tend to be used ever more freely until some have just been assimilated and become 'types' particularly associated with this style. The most striking example is the bearded captor, originally from f.14v. of the Guiron manuscript, who, always wearing a blue doublet and a fur hat, becomes an executioner or torturer in several scenes in the Books of Hours. Unlike a stock figure copied from a collection of models, this man is drawn in a variety of postures and activities. It seems that it is not the line and form which attracted this designer but the idea, almost as if the original drawing has become a character who has taken on a wider, if brutal existence.

This evolution and fresh combination of quoted or stock motifs is at odds with the conventional view of the way in which a repertoire of patterns was used by a workshop.<sup>67</sup> It seems more likely to have been a personal and individual response to the task of designing illustrations, which produced original

solutions that drew sometimes upon recorded models but more frequently upon concepts and forms held in the imagination rather than in a patternbook.

The flexibility and variety of means seen in the composition of miniatures also seem to have been fundamental to the organisation of work and the methods of production of these manuscripts. Both from the final appearance of the miniatures and from an analysis of the procedures of work it seems likely that the illumination in this style was the product of a small, fluctuating team. But it seems equally probable that the style, as it is recognizable to us, depended upon one original and imaginative individual, an illuminator who was responsible for the designs of the illustration and decoration but who commonly collaborated with others for the task of painting the manuscripts and, when the scale of the work caused it to be necessary, as we have seen in fr.343, might also share the task of designing the miniatures.

## Notes to Chapter 5

1. No scientific examination has been made of these manuscripts. For near contemporary Italian guides to the methods and materials of manuscript painting, see F. Brunello ed. De Arte Illuminandi (Vicenza, 1975) or the earlier translation of D.V. Thompson, An Anonymous Fourteenth Century treatise De Arte Illuminandi (New Haven, 1933) and Cennino d'Andrea Cennini, The Craftsman's Handbook: the Italian "Il libro dell arte", translated by D.V. Thompson (New York, 1954).
2. See Ch.3, p.101. The manuscript was inventoried in 1426 as fourteen quaternions in a cover of blue leather, Pellegrin La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.274.
3. Some details of the painting on this folio are quite unlike anything found elsewhere in this book and it is doubtful whether the figure was painted during the first campaign. Apart from the general difference of colour and surface finish from the painting on other folios, none of the metal objects have had either bole or metal foil applied. The ground and trees do fit in with illuminations painted by the collaborator.



4. This painting appears never to have been fully silvered and not to have lost part of its surface through damage. The ground and horses are both painted and have ink hatching to show recession and modelling. Only the knights are incompletely painted and silvered and those that are silvered lack the customary ink outline and hatching which models and defines their armour. It appears therefore that the silver foil was applied at the same time as the paint.
5. It seems likely from the catch words on ff.56v. and 104v. which do not appear on the next recto, that there was once more text. The extent of the unfinished illustration and decoration argues against the possibility that painting started on each gathering immediately it had been written.
6. Since no foliate initials fall in gathering 4 it would not be strictly accurate to classify it as completed to the second stage.
7. It is possible that this was a sample gathering produced for the patron's approval as was the case with Borso d'Este's Bible. In the contract of July 1455, between the representative of Duke Borso, and Taddeo Crivelli and Franco dei Rossi,

the artists agree to 'adminiare la Bibbia del nostro Sig. per lo modo et forma che è il terzo quinterno nel libro Exodi segnato D.' G. Bertoni, Il maggior miniatore della Bibbia di Borso d'Este, Taddeo Crivelli (Modena, 1925), pp.29-30.

8. See n.3.
9. There are a few miniatures where some elements seem to be painted in the style of the collaborator whilst others are painted in the style of Latin 757. On f.34v. the figures and faces are distinctly painted in the collaborator's style but the ground and trees are rendered without the ink hatching which is a characteristic feature of the collaborator's technique. On f.81 the ground is shown with ink hatching over a brown wash but the horses and figures are painted in the style of Latin 757. It may be that the co-operation between the two painters was rather ad hoc. Alternatively they may simply have adopted features of the other's technique as a consequence of their collaboration. Their individual treatment of flesh and faces remains quite intact.
10. Some of the historiated initials further into the manuscript, ff.49, 64 and 72, which are painted by the later painters have border sprays which

include leaf-forms and kite-shaped terminals similar to those of style B of Latin 757. They are, however, combined with straight bars and are placed against a strip of gold ground unlike the curling cusped forms of style B. These seem likely to have been drawn by the fifteenth century artists. See ill. 92.

11. It may be, of course, that the later artist simply disregarded any earlier figural drawing on ff.38 and 43.
12. See Ch.3, pp.80-83.
13. Although f.89 now has the miniature of the Expulsion from Paradise painted by the Master of the Birago Hours there has been heavy erasure from this folio and traces of ivy-leaf sprays are still visible. It seems probable that if the border was painted the miniature too had been painted during an earlier campaign. See pp.89-92.
14. See Ch.3, p.93. These figural infills are all recognisably of the types, forms and proportions found in Latin 757 and often can be paralleled with illustrations in that book. In the case of the King kneeling in the sea on f.265 the similarity is to the King on f.24 of the Lancelot manuscript, fr.343.

15. See Ch.3, p.82.
  
16. Blanks were left for miniatures to face the openings of (i) Penitential Psalms, f.264v., which remains blank; (ii) Gospel Extracts, f.285v., which carries the later devotional miniatures of Pier Maria Rossi and his mistress (?) before the Man of Sorrows; (iii) Benediction of Water, f.348v., which carries the inept painter's Baptism; (iv) Benediction of Candles, f.353v., which remains blank; (v) Benediction of Palms, f.359v., which remains blank.  
It seems likely that the designer left the drawing of the miniatures because nobody else's contribution depended on it.
  
17. See plate E (i) Alexander and de la Mare, The Italian manuscripts..., 1969.
  
18. See Ch.3, p.80 and n.6
  
19. There is confirmation of this sequence on f.95. It is clear that the borders were drawn before the foliation was added because drawn sprays meet across the top margin of the page, whilst the sprays as they were painted stop short at either side of the gold and blue roman numerals.

20. See Ch.3, p.80 and n.6.
21. These divisions are not the same as those made for the task of writing the book, see Ch.3, p.85.
22. On f.17, where the foliation has not been painted, the letters to be gold are drawn with an ink outline and those to be blue with a metalpoint outline, a differentiation itself implying an instruction to another hand. It seems though that these letters were only so drawn because they had been missed, for they are of the shape found in the Birago Hours. Further on in the manuscript it is clear that there was no outline drawing for the blue letters on those folios within gatherings 18-30 where only the gold letters belong to the early campaign; the later painter was very confused over what the blue letters should be and, in places, guessed wildly when filling the gaps. For example on f.114 the early gold numerals C I I are joined only by one blue X before the first I, on f.116 the early gold C and V are preceded by a blue C and X respectively!
23. This shows incidentally that this book could not have been painted either as imposed sheets or as a bound volume.

24. Any division into different border hands is hazardous when any feature determined by the underdrawing or final finishing off have to be disregarded. The ivy-leaves of this section, although they follow the same colour scheme and are painted in the same way as those in preceding folios, are paler in tone. It may be that this represents simply the variations in paint mixed for a single session of work. There is no indication of how long such a task would have taken.
25. See Ch.2, p.66 for Latin 757 and Ch.3, p.79 for the miniatures of Smith-Lesouëf 22. For another example of a fourteenth-century Italian manuscript which shows different stages of work having been carried out in different sections of the book see B. Degenhart and A. Schmitt, Corpus der Italienischen Zeichnungen 1300-1450 Teil 1, Süd-und Mittelitalien (Berlin, 1968), 1, pp.42-48 illustrations 1, 3 and figures 38-40: the Sacramentary for the Archbishop of Salerno, Museo del Duomo, Salerno.
26. A.W. Byvanck, Les principaux manuscrits à peinture de la Bibliothèque Royale de la Haye (Paris, 1924), pp.36-41 and C.H. Weigelt, 'Lombardische Miniaturen in Kupferstich-Kabinett',

Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen, 44  
(1923), pp.37-52.

27. With the exception of ff.85r. and 86v. all the early painting is found in the first three gatherings in the Office of the Virgin. The painted three-line-high initials, the one-line-high initials and the historiated initials introducing Lauds on f.24 were completed during the early campaign in the gathering ff.22-31, and the painted three-line-high initials and one-line-high initials of the gathering ff.32-41, were completed up to and including f.34, subsequent initials are painted in colours found in the later campaign of painting. The initials of the first gathering of the Hours of the Virgin, ff.14-21, are all historiated, even those only one-line-high, except for those on f.21 recto and verso. All had been drawn during the first campaign but those on the bifolio 15 and 18 and folio 20 had not been painted, and ff.16v. and 17 was partly painted. This manuscript has not so far been convincingly dated. The attribution of its ownership to Giangaleazzo Visconti is now generally discounted. The manuscript which gives this illuminator his name, the Book of Hours,  $\mathcal{C}$  R.7.3, Latin 842 of the Biblioteca Estense in Modena must have been written after

1390 for it includes tables for computing Easter composed by Anselmo Rozio of Milan in that year. There is no reason to suppose he owned the book as stated in Arte Lombarda..., 1958, p.39. For the identification of this illuminator see Appendix I.

28. This is actually a winter Sacramentary with additional masses, R. Amiet, 'La tradition manuscrite du Missel Ambrosien', 14, Scriptorium, 1960, pp.39-41.
29. Folios 8, 26, 28, 46v., 148, 153v., 156v., 157, 176, 177, 178, 193, 198v., 200, 217, 230 and 236.
30. See Ch.5, pp.229-30.
31. The division of work amongst different artists, according to process rather than unit, that is suggested here for the completion of the decoration in these manuscripts, is in some ways analogous to John White's suggestions for the painting of Duccio's Maestà and the reliefs of the cathedral at Orvieto, J. White, Duccio, Tuscan Art and the Medieval Workshop (London, 1979), pp.113-14, and 'The Reliefs on the Façade of the Duomo in Orvieto', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 22 (1959), pp.254-302.



32. See Ch.3, pp.110-11 and catalogue entry.
  
33. See Ch.1, pp.14-18 and Ch.3, pp.85-89, 97 and 101-02.
  
34. See ill. 164 where a small 'g' in the central margin refers to the missing flourish initial at the bottom of the second text column.
  
35. See Ch.1, pp.16-17.  
 There is a similar misplacement in Smith-Lesouëf 22 where the Baptism of St Augustine is placed on f.213, instead of on 213v. to face the opening of the prayer attributed to him, 'Dulcissime yhu xpe...'.
  
36. In B.N. Latin 7323, the manuscript containing drawings which seem related to the style of Latin 757 (see Ch.3, n.41), the names of the zodiac signs were also written in an abbreviated, informal hand within the area of their bodies. These figures were never painted and although the name has been erased from some folios it remains on others, see Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', 1965, figs 118 and 119.
  
37. See Hindman and Farquhar, Pen to Press, 1977, pp.82-83. D.J.A. Ross, 'Methods of Book Production

in a XIVth Century French Miscellany',  
Scriptorium, 6, (1952), pp.66-67, describes  
 how three people were involved in the  
 production of one miniature on f.38v. of  
 London, B.L. Royal 19 D.1, one who following  
 the rubric made a marginal drawing of a one-  
 eyed cyclops, a draughtsman who correctly drew  
 out the miniature and a third who 'improved' it  
 when he painted it and put in two eyes.

A fourteenth-century Italian Book of Hours in  
 the British Library, Add.15,265, has what appear  
 to be instructions to the illuminator in the  
 lower margins of some folios, 90v., 102, 106v.,  
 127v., 128 and 129v. Here too these instructions  
 are in Latin. The script is an informal irregular  
 cursive which but for the occasional word this  
 reader finds indecipherable.

38. This seems likely to have been the case in the  
 gathering ff.13-21 of the Hours of Isabelle of  
 Castile, for here each painted one-line initial  
 of the text is historiated appropriately to the  
 opening words of the text: the texts on f.17  
 opening with one-line-high initials are as  
 follows: 'Quid est hom ...' the Q contains an  
 old man pointing; 'Minusti eu paulominus ab  
 angelis...' the M contains a King and Saint;

'Omnia subiecisti sub...' the O contains a cow; 'Volucerres celi...' the V contains a bird; 'Domine dominus nostre...' the D contains a bust of Christ.

39. B. Witthoft, The Tacuinum Sanitatis: Studies in Secular Manuscript illumination in the late fourteenth century in Lombardy (Ph.D. thesis Harvard University, 1978), demonstrates on p.71 that the illustration of 'Turtures' f.70, one of the miniatures in the style of Latin 757 in the Paris Tacuinum n.a.lat.1673, must have been following a model, at least for the trap. In the Vienna Tacuinum, Nationalbibliothek s.n. 2644 the illustration of this subject on folio 69 shows the trap containing a staked bird to attract others. In Paris this has become an indistinct, skittle-shaped object. This suggests an inaccurate copy.
40. Dix siècles..., 1984, pp.105-06. Augustinus Fazardus also owned a copy of the works of Seneca which was item 843 in the 1426 inventory of the library in the Castello di Pavia. See Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.260.  
A notary Augustino Fazardo is named in a document of the 13 September 1398 published in R. Maiocchi, Codice Diplomatico artistico di Pavia, dall'anno 1330 all'anno 1550 (Pavia, 1937), p.23.

41. The converse to this argument is used by  
P.M. de Winter, 'The Grandes Heures of Philip  
the Bold, Duke of Burgundy: The Copyist Jean  
L'Avenant and his Patrons at the French Court',  
Speculum, 57, (1982), p.793: 'The dearth of  
records, particularly those of payments concerning  
most illuminators of the period results, in my  
opinion, from the fact that these craftsmen...  
received their wages from stationnaires and  
écrivains rather than directly from the patron...'.  
This, of course, refers to Paris.
  
42. This is a summer Sacramentary for use in Sta  
Tecla the large summer cathedral of Milan which  
was demolished in 1461. R. Amiet 'La tradition  
manuscrite...', 1960, pp.42-44.
  
43. P. Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, p.148 and fig.279.
  
44. Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano,  
9 vols (Milan, 1877-84), App.II, pp.238, 243,  
244 and 245.  
  
See also Appendix I of this study for the records  
concerning the Milleloquium of St Ambrose made  
for the fabbrica between 1407-09.

45. For a discussion of the role of stationnaires and the assumption by scribes of this role see P.M. de Winter, 'Copistes, editeurs et enlumineurs de la fin du XIV siècle: la production à Paris de manuscrits à miniatures', Actes du 100<sup>e</sup> Congrès National des Sociétés Savantes, 1975, (Paris, 1978), pp.173- 98. For the University of Pavia regulations concerning stationarii see Ch.6, p. . and n.6.
46. The supervision of Charles V of France over the production of some of his manuscripts is confirmed by inscriptions in his own hand, as in the Coronation Book, London, B.L. Cotton Tiberius B.VIII., f.74v., de Winter, 'The Grandes Heures...', 1982, p.812. The orders given by Charles I, King of Naples, for the completion of one book he had commissioned included making provisions against the eventuality of the illuminator's untimely death. The King's physician, Johannes de Nigellis or Nigella, acted as supervisor over the production of some of the King's manuscripts, C. Coulter, 'The Library of the Angevin Kings at Naples', Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association, 75, (1944), pp.144-45 and 148-49.

47. G. Biscaro, 'Note di storia dell'arte e della coltura a Milano dai libri mastri Borromeo (1427-1478)', Archivio Storico Lombardo, (1914), pp.71-109. The payments to Ardreino Corte are published on p.76 and those relating to Vitaliano's Hours on pp.93 and 94.
48. De Winter, 'The Grandes Heures...', 1982, pp.788-9 discusses the role of Guillaume de Vralen, Philip the Bold's Dominican confessor, as the Duke's intermediary with the book trade. A payment of 1376 is described as 'To brother Guillaume de Vralen, confessor of my Lord, for the making of an hours which my Lord ordered him to have made in Paris for my said Lord, in which my said Lord ordered that be put several prayers and other things'. If de Winter is correct in identifying this book as the Grandes Heures we gain an idea of the Duke's responsibility for the compilation of a manuscript which is perhaps the closest precedent for the Hours/Missal of Bertrando de' Rossi.
49. Perhaps the most involved, at least in its symbolic content, is the example published by J. Porcher, Jean Lebègue, les histoires que l'on peut raisonnablement faire sur les livres de Salluste (Paris, 1962).

50. For comparisons between Latin 757 and Smith-Lesouëf '22 see Ch.3, pp.77-79; for Modena, Latin 862 Ch.3, p.95 ; for fr.343, Ch.3, pp.103-04 and 109; for n.a.lat.1673, Ch.3, pp.111-12.
- 51 One of the few medieval collections of models to survive is in fact Lombard and of this time, manuscript  $\Delta$  7.14. of the Biblioteca Civica of Bergamo. The first seven folios are attributed to Giovannino de Grassi and contain, isolated upon the page, animals, figures or groups of figures. An inscription of f.4v. reads 'iohininus de grassis designavit'. R.W. Scheller, A Survey of Medieval Model Books (Haarlem, 1963), pp.143-45, links some of these designs with illustrations in the Historia Plantarum, Rome, Biblioteca Casanatense, ms. 495, and the Visconti Hours, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 397 and Landau Finaly 22. It is likely that this so-called sketchbook postdates the Visconti Hours. (Ch.4, n.50).
52. This approach and practice differs from the usual view of a medieval painter's use of patterns:  
'... What may be a characteristic of manuscript painters who used patterns, once a repertory was established there was not much change, even over

twenty or thirty years. To be sure an artist's style evolved, and additions, alterations, and variations occurred in the patterns, but the basic repertory consistently reappeared.<sup>1</sup>

J.D. Farquhar, Creation and Imitation (Fort Lauderdale, 1976), pp.70-71.

53. See Ch.4, p.166.
54. Compare the falling knight and his horse on f.48 of n.a. fr.5243 with that on f.107 of fr.343 (ills 174 and 107), f.42v. of the Guiron with f.33 of the Lancelot (ills 172 and 103), and the falling knight on f.17v. of the Guiron with the same figure on f.25v. of the Lancelot (ills 166 and 101), as well as the examples already given.
55. For the technique of drawing see Ch.3, p.105.
56. Compare, for example, the unseated knight falling backwards on f.59 of the Lancelot and f.11 of the Guiron and f.64v. of the Lancelot and f.47 of the Guiron. This supports, incidentally, the likelihood that the work in the style of Latin 757 was contemporary with that of the collaborator, see Ch.3, pp.107-08.



57. For a discussion of medieval methods of tracing see Farquhar, Creation and Imitation..., 1976, pp.61-69.
58. Ch.4, p.182.
59. Ch.3, p.117 and Ch.4, pp.159-61.
60. L. Cogliati Arano, Tacuinum Sanitatis (Milan, 1973), p.17.
61. Ch.4, pp.175-79.
62. I am grateful to Peter Kidson for discussing with me the architecture shown in these miniatures.
63. E. Verga, Storia della vita Milanese (Milan, 1931), reproduces a drawing of Sta. Maria Maggiore on p.113.
64. Ch.2, p.53 and n.10.
65. The description of Sant' Ambrogio would therefore result from the inclusion of all these elements and not from rendering them accurately or combining them rationally to make a coherent structure.  
For a discussion of the medieval attitude to the imitation of buildings see R. Krautheimer, 'An introduction to the iconography of medieval

architecture', Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, 5 (1942), pp.1-33 and reprinted with a postscript in Studies in Early Christian, Medieval and Renaissance Art (New York/London, 1969), pp.115- 50.

66. The architecture shown in the manuscripts of this group is usually composed of forms drawn from earlier Lombard buildings and contrasts with the inventive, flamboyant and often fantastic designs from an up-to-the-minute architectural vocabulary which we have seen in the manuscripts associated with Giovannino de' Grassi.
67. On medieval patternbooks:  
'Their specific purpose was to conserve images from various places which the master, his assistants and their successors could use in paintings and manuscript illuminations at a later date. The patternbook was therefore a compendium of stock examples ready to be transferred to paintings, and as such played a vital role in the transmission of both iconographic and formal ideas from generation to generation, place to place, and indeed from one workshop to another. The Gothic modelbook was used in very much the same way. The studio artist would consult it for

information about how to depict a particular motif.....modelbooks were, in effect the workshop's pictorial archive, containing definitive studies which would be used repeatedly and in which that studio could, therefore, be judged time and time again...'. F. Ames-Lewis and J. Wright, Drawing in the Italian Renaissance Workshop, pp.95-96, catalogue to the exhibition held at the University Art Gallery, Nottingham, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, London in 1983.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONTEXT OF PRODUCTION

The manuscripts which have been the subject of this study seem, as far as survivals and the fragmentary records can show, to have been the first and founding examples of the luxury-book trade which catered for non-ecclesiastical patrons in Milan and its environs.<sup>1</sup> The small workshop responsible for producing these lavishly decorated books for the Lombard nobility was undoubtedly formed to answer the demands of a clientele which regarded opulent books as an essential and pleasurable accessory of courtly life. It is worth considering the background circumstances, as far as they may be deduced from the scant evidence available,<sup>2</sup> against which this specialist branch of the book-trade developed - the supply and demand for books in the second half of the fourteenth century in Milan and Pavia, the administrative and court centres of the Visconti family. It must, however, be remembered that the information available is more in the nature of gleanings than a full crop and is sometimes more suggestive of questions than answers.

#### The book-trade in Pavia

Few published works are directly concerned with the nature of book-production in Italy,<sup>3</sup> none deal with Lombardy. On first consideration Pavia, as a University

town, would seem a likely centre for a flourishing industry providing students and teachers with the books they required. Add to this the knowledge that Galeazzo II and Giangaleazzo Visconti held the Castle of Pavia as their primary residence<sup>4</sup> and indeed that the second largest princely library in Europe was housed therein and expectations of finding a flourishing commerce providing a range of books to satisfy a varied clientele are further raised. In fact, those snippets of information that have been published make it seem unlikely that there was even a well-organised and reliable industry capable of supplying the modest volumes required by members of the University; certainly there is no evidence of a sophisticated system of production comparable to that under the control of the University in Paris or Bologna.

Rodolfo Maiocchi in the first volume of his Codice diplomatico dell' Università di Pavia published documents relating to the University, from the diploma of Charles IV in 1361 for the foundation of the Studio generale to the acts of 1400, at which time the studio had declined and was divided between Piacenza and Pavia. Apart from the statutes of the University of 1395 none of these documents relates directly to the manufacture of manuscripts and those that do concern books suggest that in Pavia books were at once protected and in short supply. Two items concern the restitution of books given as pledges, in 1389 a tax exemption was granted to students bringing books into the city and,

in 1392, instructions were given to prevent 'aliquos libros juristam civilis quam canonici, et medicine, et quarumlibet aliarum scientiarum et artium' from leaving the city.<sup>5</sup> Whilst all of these can be seen as protecting the essential tools of the University, the latter at least must have been positively inimical to a thriving book-trade. The impression that these edicts give, on the one hand, of difficulty in obtaining books and, on the other, of the obstacles to a thriving book-trade, are confirmed by those regulations relevant to books in the statutes of the University.<sup>6</sup>

The statutes of 1395 of the Università dei Giuristi laid down the requirements for stationers, binders and scribes, engaged in the provision of books for the use of members of the University. In their concern to facilitate the adequate supply of accurate and reasonably priced texts and to protect the owners of existing books from loss or fraud these regulations appear conventional and are similar to those of other Universities:<sup>7</sup> stationers, binders and general beadles were required to give pledges of 200 lire to the rectors of the University as security against the value of books deposited with them; stationers and binders had to undertake faithfully to keep and to return books lodged with them; scribes had to swear that their work would be faithful and correct and any exemplum given to them for copying would be well looked after. Beadles with responsibility for individual schools were even

charged with the maintenance and closure of linen windows in their schools for the protection of scholars and their books from rain 'vel alia inevitabili calamitate'. A system of fines enforced these demands.

It is the relative laxness of these controls or the limits to their application, compared to those of other University towns, that suggest that in Pavia, after all a relatively new and small University,<sup>8</sup> the manufacture of books was not on a large scale and was not a well-established commercial operation. Careful provisions governed the display and the sale of books lodged with a stationarius librorum and his commission was precisely fixed - one solidum per florin (six denarii from the vendor and six denarii from the purchaser) on any book sold for less than forty florins. Although loan and hire were mentioned there was no comparable, detailed provision covering the pricing and hiring of manuscripts for copying and, although petiae were referred to, there was no specification of length for such a unit of a manuscript and no charge fixed for hiring or copying one.<sup>9</sup> It would seem that the major role of a stationarius in Pavia at the end of the fourteenth century was to act as a middleman in the sale of existing books, the occupation which was called libraire in Paris,<sup>10</sup> where it also involved the holding and renting out of approved exemplaria for copying. Not only did this occupation appear reduced in Pavia but, when it came to the writing of new copies, the

regulations all sought to control transactions which took place directly between the scholars and the scribes. In contrast, in Paris no sale of a book was meant to take place without the intervention of either a stationnaire or libraire, and in Bologna the scribes were in the stationers' employ.<sup>11</sup> Furthermore, the Pavian statutes expressly stated that scholars were not prohibited from undertaking any of the tasks of a stationarius. Compared to the strict controls which were formulated, if flouted, in other university towns one gains an impression of a pragmatic response to encourage the easier proliferation of books in Pavia.<sup>12</sup> This was explicitly stated in one of the privileges given to scholars; the right to bring into the city, from anywhere, books of canon and civil law without paying tax, even if they were brought in for sale. The reason for such an unusual freedom was given: 'Insuper volentes Studium ampliari et ut librorum copia reperiator'.

If by such means the University aimed to enlarge the number of books in Pavia, the manuscript production that it wished to encourage was of modest university texts and not more highly decorated or lavish volumes. As well as the careful control of prices other regulations seem liable to have impeded a wider production and commerce. Stationers, scholars and citizens were all enjoined to prevent the sale of books where profit was the motive and scholars were not



allowed to buy books above the price of ten florins without the permission of a rector or notary of the University. Unless the scholar swore that he had no mercenary motive such a sale was void.<sup>13</sup> The restriction on books leaving Pavia, shown in the instruction of 1392 published by Maiocchi, was repeated in these statutes but modified so that, with the permission and seal of the rector, books might leave the city. Putman suggested that such restrictions so interfered with the development of the book-trade in university towns that it caused greater activity of the general book-trade in cities where there was no university authority to supplement the regulations of the commune.<sup>14</sup>

#### Surviving Pavian manuscripts

If the documentary sources make it seem improbable that there was a flourishing, professional production of manuscripts indigenous to Pavia, so too do the surviving manuscripts. Amongst extant manuscripts which have been identified with volumes inventoried in 1426 in the library of the Castello di Pavia, or otherwise owned by members of the Visconti family or court, all of those which can be shown to have been produced in Pavia and with a colophon in which the scribe names himself were written by members of the University and not by full-time professional scribes.

Pantalemon de Crema signed a copy of Seneca's Tragoediae, Paris, B.N. Latin 8025, which he had

written for Angelus de Sanguineis in 1398. Pellegrin has identified the scribe of Latin 8025 with the Pantaleonus de Crema who was named several times in the records of 1399, 1400 and 1405 as 'bidellus' of the University of Pavia.<sup>15</sup> Four other books for Angelus appear to have been written by the same hand: Paris, B.N. Latin 6334, Cicero, Tusculanae Quaestiones. De natura deorum. De divinatione Timaeus; B.N. Latin 5691, Dictys Cretensis, Bellum Trojanum and Vegetius, Epitome re Militaris; B.N. Latin 6524, Excerpta operum Alberti Magni; B.N. Latin 8549, Seneca, Epistolae ad Lucilium, Petrarch, Epistolae ad Donatum de Albanzonis Appenninigenam, Angelus de Roma, Epistulae, Hyginus, Astronomica.<sup>16</sup>

An inscription in another Paris manuscript, B.N. Latin 6298, describes the circumstances of the writing 'propria manu per Iohannem de Capitaneis de Vitedono in felice studio Papiensi' of his own compilation Consilium super urinae ardorem, a copy which he wrote at the request of the jurist Baldo degli Ubaldi in June 1395 in the castle of Pavia.<sup>17</sup> Giovanni de' Capitani da Vittuone was a professor in medicine in Pavia from 1374 to 1404.

Less exalted members of the University were also employed in book-copying. Augustinus Fazardus<sup>18</sup> owned Paris, B.N. Latin 8544, a collection of works including St Jerome's Vita Senecae, with colophons which show that two German or Netherlandish students had written it: on f.84, 'Iohannem de Alcmaria, theotonicum

studentem in iure canonico in venerabili studio  
 Papiensi anno domini mcccclxxxviii die v marcii';  
 on f.155v. 'Explicit tabula....quam ego Iohannes de  
 Vorborch theotonicus scripsi'. Pellegrin has once  
 more identified this scribe, Iohannes de Vorborch  
 de Alemania Traiectensis diocesis who graduated as  
 a doctor of canon law in 1391.<sup>19</sup> Manuscripts written  
 by another German, Armannus de Alemania, have survived  
 in larger number. His signature appears in Paris, B.N.  
 Latin 5067, 6541 and 6417, which are of a uniform  
 script, and also in B.N. Latin 6496, 6830H, 7258 and  
 8123, where he appears to have been responsible for  
 only part of the text.<sup>20</sup> Pellegrin also, convincingly,  
 attributed to him the copy of Pliny's Historia Naturalis,  
 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, E. 24 inf.<sup>21</sup>

The addition to Latin 6830H is signed 'Armannus  
 scripsit mandato D. Pasquini', and the arms or ex-libris  
 of Pasquino Capelli, although they may now be overpainted  
 or erased,<sup>22</sup> were included in Paris, B.N. Latin 6541,  
 5067, 6526 and Milan, Ambrosiana E. 24 inf. Pasquino  
 Capelli was secretary to Galeazzo II and then to  
 Giangaleazzo Visconti. He was accused of treason and  
 executed in 1398 and his books became part of the  
 Visconti Library.<sup>23</sup> Pellegrin has suggested that the  
 Armannus who wrote the manuscripts for Pasquino was a  
 student at the University.<sup>24</sup> An Armannus de Alemania  
 graduated in civil law in November 1398.<sup>25</sup>

The above examples of books were variously made for  
 a member of the University, for a member of the court,

and for a Pavian citizen, as well as for the unidentified Angelus de Sanguineis da Roma. The fact that they all seem likely to have been written by students or teachers at the University, whilst no Pavian manuscript can definitely be shown to have been written by a full-time professional scribe, does make it seem that the demands of University and court overtaxed any indigenous or organised book-trade in the city.

Neither does it seem that ecclesiastical requirements could be satisfied locally. The accounts of the newly established Certosa di Pavia record payments made in 1396 to Fazio de Castoldis for service books and parchment.<sup>26</sup> Fazio de Castoldis was a priest of S. Eufemia in Milan who had written and signed the Coronation Missal of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare Ambrosiana, ms.6, who would, in 1399, sign the Antiphonal and Gradual made for a member of the Bossi family of Milan, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. a. 4 (30062),<sup>27</sup> and in 1402 would bind the Missal of S. Tecla.<sup>28</sup>

As well as his work in these manuscripts, the fabbrica of the cathedral of Milan recorded payments to Fazio for his part in the production of a copy of the Ambrosianae, or the Milleloquium of Saint Ambrose, over a period of about three years.<sup>29</sup> A copy of the desired text was owned by the Augustinian eremitani of S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro in Pavia who must have been reluctant to send their volumes to Milan to

be copied. The fabbrica arranged to have the work carried out in the monastery in Pavia. Fazio de Castoldis travelled to Pavia where he was not only personally engaged in preparation, writing and binding the copied volumes but also acted as an agent for the fabbrica in Pavia. He was reimbursed for payments he had made to a Pavian scribe, Manfredino de Cugnolo, who had written twenty-six quinternions made up of one-hundred-and-thirty goatskins, and for payments for the rebinding of the original copy of the Milleloquium which had evidently been unbound to serve as an exemplum. The Pavian scribe, however, was the only local craftsman engaged to work upon the cathedral's copy and he did no work upon the most important and highly decorated first volume (ills 187-191). Not only was the book brought back to Milan for its decoration and binding but another Milanese scribe, Pietro de Guioldis, was paid in May and July of 1407 and September of 1409 for copying the Milleloquium in Pavia. It was initially intended that he should be entirely responsible for the first volume and he was paid a rate per quinternion exactly double that paid to the Pavian scribe: 1.2 s.8 instead of s.24. When he failed to complete the work another scribe from the diocese of Milan travelled to Pavia to copy the remaining quinternions of the first volume. Presumably no Pavian scribe was both available and acceptable.

These are relatively few and scattered instances upon which to base an argument for the paucity of resources

for the writing of manuscripts in Pavia but they gain weight by the fact that no other evidence denies the impression that they make.

There is not the same certainty of localisation to Pavia for the illumination as for the script in the manuscripts discussed above. It does, however, seem probable that these manuscripts, having been written by residents of that city, and for residents of that city, were it possible, should also have been painted there. These must be the likeliest candidates for consideration as representatives of Pavian illumination.

Four of the manuscripts written for Angelus de Sanguineis have painted foliate decoration, Paris, B.N. Latin 5691, 6334, 8025 (ill. 192) and 8549. All four were written by Pantalemon de Crema. The foliate borders and initials in these manuscripts are varied in form and colour but, nonetheless, some features are recurrent and these characteristic details, like the idiosyncrasies of informal handwriting, reveal the decoration of these manuscripts as the work of one painter. There is a consistent use of the same forms in the white flourish decoration, particularly three small circles joined in a row, the occasional use of a red line around the edge of an initial infill with a row of white dots painted upon it, and gold pigment used to provide flourish patterns on the pigment of infills and grounds. Latin 8025 (ill. 192), which is

dated 1398, is the most extensively and carefully decorated of this group but it remains a somewhat graceless style.

The work of this painter is also found in Paris, B.N. Latin 8544, in the manuscript written by two 'German' students for Augustinus Fazardus in Pavia in 1389 and in Paris, B.N. Latin 7258. This latter is a copy of Ptolomei's Almagestum, part of which is of the second half of the thirteenth century,<sup>30</sup> but the manuscript was completed, with ff.1-40 and 314-334, by Armannus de Alemania, who signed f.334, and the decoration was completed at the same time.<sup>31</sup>

Although most of the later painted initials in this manuscript are of the same style as those in the books for Angelus de Sanguineis two, one on f.1, (Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque.....Supplément, 1969, fig.72) and one on 135v. are quite distinct. These can be associated with the painted decoration in two other manuscripts written entirely by Armannus de Alemania for Pasquino Capelli, Paris, B.N. Latin 6541<sup>32</sup> and Milan, Ambrosiana, E. 24 inf., Pliny's Historia Naturalis which has an initial on f.332 introducing book thirty-five on painting with a self-portrait of the miniaturist signed 'frater petrus de papia me fecit, 1389' (ill. 193).<sup>33</sup>

Although Latin 6541 (ills 194 and 195) is commonly accepted as a work of Pietro da Pavia, another manuscript made for Pasquino and written by Armannus,

Paris, B.N. Latin 6069T (ill. 196) and one partly decorated in the same style, Paris, B.N. Latin 8717 (Dix siècles..., 1984, p.103) have been separated from this group.<sup>34</sup> Yet not only do they share a preference for sprays of symmetrically placed, varied vegetal forms with the small figural inclusions and a selection of motifs from French illumination which are so essential a feature of the Ambrosiana Pliny but close attention to the details of finishing once more suggest that they should perhaps be regarded as the products of one workshop, if not of one hand. If, for example, f.268v. of Latin 6541 is compared with f.10 of Latin 6069T, not only are all the forms of border and stave decoration the same, but the white flourish decoration of circles between rows of dots, and the black ink tendrils composed of a hook from the main stem joined to a wavy line into the margin confirm the close relationship of the two works.

Only some of the decoration in Latin 8717 is in the colourful, varied style of the work of Pietro da Pavia's signed manuscript. The other initials (ill. 197)<sup>35</sup> are in much closer imitation of contemporary French decoration, where the foliage sprays are restricted to ivy-leaf rincaux and the colour range to pink, blue, orange-red and burnished gold. These have been associated with the painting of Paris, B.N. Latin 8055 and jointly attributed to a second painter.<sup>36</sup> These too should perhaps be integrated with the works associated with Pietro da Pavia. There is again a



common repertoire in the forms of pen-work flourishes in white and black and in the forms of the monochrome decoration of initial staves. An initial stave on f.65 (ill. 197) of Latin 8717, in the style closely imitative of French decoration, and one on f.245v. (ill. 195) of Latin 6541, in the style of the Ambrosiana Pliny, make the most particular and compelling comparison, for the curved element of each initial is formed of an identical bearded head with a tall pointed hat. It would seem then, that in much the same way that two styles of border and initial decoration are found in Latin 757, the workshop of Pietro de Pavia produced decoration in two distinct styles. In the surviving manuscripts, however, these two styles are usually segregated and only in Latin 8717 are they found together.<sup>37</sup>

The only other illumination of any quality or distinctive character in this group of manuscripts with a strong claim to be considered as Pavian, is in the copy of Seneca's Tragoediae made in 1403 for Augustinus Fazardus, the Pavian notary, Latin 8028. This is a delightful but somewhat eccentric style.<sup>38</sup>

It is to the same year that the only securely datable illumination of an altogether more important Pavian artist can be dated.<sup>39</sup> The copy of the Funeral Eulogy of Giangaleazzo Visconti, Paris, B.N. Latin 5888 with the Visconti genealogy dated 23 January 1403, is attributed to Michelino da Besozzo (ills 183 and 184).

If the 'Michelino pictore' who was painting frescoes in the cloister of San Pietro in Ciel d'oro of Pavia is accepted as the Michelino da Besozzo who signed an altarpiece, now lost, made for S. Mostiola in Pavia in 1394, and who subsequently worked in the cathedral of Milan, his activity in Pavia extended from 1388-1404,<sup>40</sup> almost precisely the years represented by the illumination discussed above. Of the manuscripts attributed to Michelino only the Visconti Funeral Eulogy can be confidently dated to this period. Michelino's highly stylised forms with their soft, curving contours seem a personal and individual vision but his rhythmic, elegant borders made up of curling stems of foliage and flowers appear closely related to those of Pietro da Pavia. One manuscript, Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae, Cesena, Biblioteca Malatestiana, ms.D.XIV.2, often attributed to Michelino's youth, shows these affinities particularly clearly.<sup>41</sup>

The impression which these manuscripts give of the fourteenth-century production of illuminated books in Pavia is one of a restricted output. Not only in terms of the gross product but within the decoration itself: even in the most accomplished work, that of Pietro da Pavia, illustration is limited to initials and marginal figures.

None of these books can be dated earlier than 1388 and it may be that book-painting was even more limited before that date. This would explain the

circumstances under which Petrarch's copy of Leonzio Pilato's translation of the Iliad was painted. According to Petrarch's note on the fly-leaf the manuscript was illuminated, with painted foliate initials, in Milan in 1369. The transcription of the work had been completed in Pavia in 1368, when Petrarch was staying with Galeazzo, and was left there for binding and illumination. Petrarch regained the book when he visited Pavia the following year.<sup>42</sup> That the manuscript was sent from Pavia to Milan for these tasks surely reflects on the adequacy of Pavian artisans to supply these services.

This picture of manuscript illumination in Pavia joins with the other arguments in favour of regarding the style of Latin 757 as being an essentially Milanese product. The quotation of Milanese buildings, the signature of a Milanese scribe in the Modena Hours, the links with the two manuscripts made for Bernabò, all these point to Milan rather than Pavia as the base for the artists working in the style of Latin 757. Such a view is supported by the continuation of some aspects of this style in the work of a later illuminator, the 'Master of the Modena Hours' who not only worked but was certainly resident in Milan.<sup>43</sup> It is notable that none of the book decoration or illustration that seems likely to have been painted in Pavia in the years 1388-1403, the period immediately following the completion of Latin 757, shows any obvious debt to or influence from the illumination in that manuscript.

### Visconti patronage of illuminated manuscripts

#### (i) The Visconti in Pavia: Galeazzo II and descendants

All of the manuscripts discussed above were in the library at the Castello di Pavia in 1426: only the Michelino decorated manuscript could be regarded as a possible Visconti commission.<sup>44</sup> Although most of the books catalogued in the 1426 inventory are believed to have entered the library before the death of Giangaleazzo Visconti in 1402,<sup>45</sup> there seems no case where a surviving manuscript from the library contains any decoration which owes its existence to Giangaleazzo himself, beyond the addition of the Visconti arms to manuscripts acquired from other collections. Paris, B.N. Latin 5802 is one of the manuscripts once owned by Petrarch, which on his death passed into the collection of his patron Francesco Carrara. After the surrender of Padua to Giangaleazzo in 1388, along with other books from the Carrara library, it became part of the library of the Castello di Pavia<sup>46</sup> and the Visconti arms were drawn on f.lv. The most involved and attractive of the heraldic additions to second-hand manuscripts is the frontispiece added to a Bolognese copy of Cicero, De natura deorum, Paris, B.N. Latin 6340. On f.IIv. an elegantly-dressed young woman holds and displays the shield and crested helm of the Visconti (Arte Lombarda, 1958, fig.LIII) in a manner reminiscent of the young woman holding the emblems of Betrando de' Rossi on f.364 of Latin 757.<sup>47</sup>

The acquisition, whether by gift, purchase or seizure, of books made for other or earlier collectors seems to have been the means by which Giangaleazzo enlarged his library and, on the basis of the surviving manuscripts, his patronage would not appear to have offered any stimulus to the book-trade in Pavia.<sup>48</sup>

A few manuscripts which were not recorded in the 1426 inventory have original decoration that includes heraldic emblems or arms which suggested to Pellegrin that they should be considered as products of Giangaleazzo's direct patronage either for his personal use or as gifts. Some she had doubts about and had herself discounted by the time that the Supplément to La Bibliothèque... was published.<sup>49</sup> Still others should perhaps be questioned. The four volume Bible, Milan, Braidense AE XIV 24-27, the Epistles of the same library, AD XIV 30 and an Evageliary, Oxford, Bodleian, Can. Lit. 376, are all for the use of the Certosa di Pavia: these books would be likely to contain Giangaleazzo's coat-of-arms and emblems because of his role as founder and benefactor and not because the books were a personal gift of the Duke.<sup>50</sup> We have already seen that one commission of manuscripts in 1396 originated with the prior.<sup>51</sup> Besides these books the only manuscripts with original decoration including Giangaleazzo's arms are i) the Visconti Hours, Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Banco Rari 397 and Landau Finaly 22, of which

the early illumination is attributed to Giovannino de' Grassi, ii) the Coronation Missal, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare di Sant'Ambrogio ms.6, with historiated initials by Anovelo da Imbonate, and iii) two volumes of a glossed Bible, Paris, B.N. Latin 364 (ills 181-82) and Arras, Bibliothèque Municipale ms.2. The incomplete decoration of these last two manuscripts has no stylistic relationship with other Lombard illumination and François Avril has recently suggested that it should be considered as Mantuan.<sup>52</sup> All but the Visconti Hours were commissioned after September 1395 when Giangaleazzo became Duke of Milan, for his arms include the imperial eagle, and the first two listed were painted by illuminators whose activity is otherwise in Milan or for Milanese patrons. Such a restricted corpus of four manuscripts, three of them unfinished, does not accord with the view of Giangaleazzo's artistic patronage which is often expressed.<sup>53</sup> Giangaleazzo could have been an important initiator of the copying and illustration of manuscripts but until some evidence in support of such a role is discovered it should be held in doubt. At the present state of knowledge his activity in acquiring books can be accepted but not necessarily in having them made. This in itself could have been a consequence of the undeveloped state of the book-trade in Lombardy. From his father's death in 1378 until the overthrow of

Bernabò in 1385, relations between the courts of Pavia and Milan deteriorated and Giangaleazzo's pious seclusion in the Castello di Pavia would have made him vulnerable to any shortcomings of the book-trade in that city.<sup>54</sup> It is evident that local artistic resources were insufficient when Giangaleazzo was wanting to have scenes from the hunt and other figures painted on the walls of some of the rooms of the Castello in 1380, for he wrote to Lodovico Gonzaga requesting that he send from Mantua 'quatuor vel sex bonos depinctores, qui sciant bene facere figuras et animalia'.<sup>55</sup> Pavia remained Giangaleazzo's principal residence and court.<sup>56</sup>

In enlarging the library of Pavia, by whatever means, Giangaleazzo is believed to have been continuing a project started by his father. Galeazzo II is said to have founded the library in his newly built Castello in the 1360s; the impetus for this is often credited to Petrarch, a family friend who spent several of the summers of that decade in Pavia.<sup>57</sup> Morigia wrote 'Galeazzo radunasse nel Castello tanta copia di libri nella sua libreria che fu cosa meravigliosa di que' tempi, sopra la quale pose Francesco Petrarca'.<sup>58</sup> It is not clear which amongst the surviving manuscripts those collected by Galeazzo might be. As for manuscripts newly commissioned by Galeazzo only the joint commission with his wife Blanche of Savoy for the Munich Book of Hours is really secure. There is no indication beyond the association with the

manuscripts of the Latin 757 group in favour of localising the production of this manuscript to either Pavia or Milan.

Pellegrin has suggested that the Missa in festivitae sancti Bernardi, Paris, B.N. Latin 1142, which has the Visconti arms on f.1 (ill. 198) shows Galeazzo Kneeling before the Virgin and Child.<sup>59</sup> She also suggested that Frontinus, Stratagemata, Paris, B.N. Latin 7247, a Bolognese manuscript, was made for Galeazzo. The arms and monogram GZ on f.11v. are the same as those used by Giangaleazzo but the shields and standards carried within the miniatures have white crosses on a red ground, reminiscent of the arms of Savoy, the family of Galeazzo's wife. In fact this is not always the case and on other folios the shields have red crosses on a white ground. These shields seem unlikely to be significant.

One can be more certain of some manuscripts owned by Blanche herself. Three surviving books from the library at Pavia contain her ex-libris: Maurice de Sully, Sermons, Paris, B.N. fr.187; De invocatione Beate Marie, Paris, B.N. Latin 5562; Brunetto Latini, Trésor, Paris, B.N. fr.1110,<sup>60</sup> None of these, however, was made for Blanche. All were second-hand manuscripts, even fr.1110, a thirteenth century French manuscript which was a gift of Giangaleazzo to his mother.<sup>61</sup> As well as these surviving manuscripts, two items in the 1426 inventory, 810 and 811, had as explicit the ex-libris of Blanche. They are described as Augustini



liber soliloquiorum and oratio ad sanctam magdalenam; both were in Italian. The presence of the Visconti and Savoy arms on three other inventoried manuscripts makes it likely that they too were for Blanche's use or her joint use with her husband. Item 404 was a small book in French, De VII peccatis,<sup>62</sup> but the two Breviaries described as items 806 and 807 sound altogether more prestigious works with their silver-gilt clasps with the Visconti and Savoy arms and 'botonis perlarum ad signa'. The second of these was described as 'adminiatum auro'. Neither has been identified with a surviving manuscript. In addition to these books we know that a Book of Hours was bought in France for Blanche in 1366 as well as two for her daughter-in-law Isabelle de Valois,<sup>63</sup> and that Amadeo of Savoy bought prayer books in Paris for both these ladies in 1368.<sup>64</sup>

With the inscription of her ex-libris in at least five manuscripts and her arms in three others these books were clearly personal possessions valued by their owner. Apart from liturgical manuscripts and less than a quarter of Latin 5562 all her books were written in either French or Italian. This accords with the unusually personalised textual additions as well as the decoration of the Munich Hours of Blanche, the only book to have survived which was evidently made for her. Blanche's books appear to have been meant for use.

On the basis of both the documentary and manuscript survivals there seems little reason to suppose either that there was any consistent demand for new manuscripts from any member of the ruling family of Pavia or that whatever demand there was could have been satisfied locally.

It is relevant that rather than the lavishly decorated manuscripts associable with courtly patronage at the end of the fourteenth century, the manuscripts which can most confidently be ascribed to manufacture within Pavia are learned or classical texts, appropriate for a university town, in which the decoration and illustration is limited to initials and borders. No chivalric romances or lavishly decorated Books of Hours can be securely associated with book-production in Pavia, and those few manuscripts which do seem to have been decorated for members of this branch of the Visconti family seem either to be related stylistically to works from other centres, like the Frontinus, B.N. Latin 7242 or the Postilla in Genesim of Nicholas de Lyre, B.N. Latin 364, or with artists whose activity is otherwise known in Milan or for Milanese patrons. The two cities are after all not far distant.<sup>65</sup>

(ii) The Visconti in Milan: Bernabò and descendants

When the extent and type of book-production within Milan in the second half of the fourteenth century comes

to be considered there is even less documentary evidence available than for Pavia.<sup>66</sup> The manuscript survivals do, however, indicate that, although not extensive, there was some production of de-luxe secular books in Milan.<sup>67</sup> The most significant in this context are the two manuscripts made for Bernabò Visconti: Alfodhol, Liber iudiciorum et consiliorum, B.N. Latin 7323, and the Guiron le Courtois, B.N. n.a. fr. 5243. Both in their subject matter, an astronomical treatise and an Arthurian romance, and in their lay-out and illustration these contrast with the Pavian-produced books and are prime reflections of courtly interests and taste at the end of the fourteenth century.

There is little hope of establishing whether or not these were part of a large collection of books, some of which, like the Alfodhol, may have been incorporated into the Pavian library after Bernabò's capture in 1385.<sup>68</sup> Bernabò did, however, have an exceptional reputation as a patron of books. Honoré Bonet, prior of Salon, wrote a treatise, L'Apparition Maistre Jehan de Meung, which was a defence of Valentina Visconti against the charge of poisoning the French king, Charles VI. One copy, Paris, B.N. fr. 810, which was dedicated to Louis of Orléans, Valentina's husband, contains a letter addressed to Louis in which Bonet bemoans the lack of interest in scholarship shown by princes:

'...Car disoit li bons philosophes Socrates que lors seroit ly siecles beneurés quant les roys et les princes sauroient, ou quant se mectroyent en estude de scavoir. Et sy a bien grant temps que ly mondes n'ot princes qui guerres s'adonassent a estude de scavoir. Car puy que mourut ly bons Roys Robers de Cecille, qui fut de vostre sang et fut moult grant clerc, nous avons eu pou princes qui bien amassent science, fors vostre pere (qui Dieu face mercy), car il l'ama et s'y fist il les bons clers. Et ly rois de Navarre, terrenier trespasé, vit plusieurs choses en science et ama les hommes estudians, et monseigneur Bernabe de Milan les ama fort toute sa vie et leur fist plusieurs (bi)ens; mais combien qu'il leur fist escrire plusieurs beaulx livres il avait son estude plus en or qu'en science'.<sup>69</sup>

Bernabò's reputation as a patron of books must have been great indeed to warrant bracketing his name with that of Robert of Anjou and Charles V of France.<sup>70</sup> It is tempting to read the inherent criticism of the last sentence as a reference to Bernabò's esteem of the decoration and display of the 'beaulx livres' rather than of their learned content, but perhaps this is too parti-pris a reading.

Letters from the Gonzaga archives show that two at least of Bernabò's sons shared his interest in books.<sup>71</sup>

Ambrogio Visconti, a bastard but favoured son of Bernabò, wrote to the lord of Mantua on 3 June 1371 asking to borrow a French romance, '*pulcrum Aspremontem tractantem de Karulo Magno*'. Bernabò's eldest son, Marco, carried on an extended correspondence in 1381 over a medical treatise, '*totum continens*'.<sup>72</sup> In the first letter of the series, in April, Marco requested the loan of the manuscript from Lodovico I; from others of June and September it is clear that the '*quinterni*' were being sent a few at a time, copied and then returned with a request for the next in the sequence.<sup>73</sup> In a letter from Milan of 4 November requesting the remainder of the book Marco writes, '*magno effectu desiderantes facere cito exemplari librum appellatum 'totum continens' procuravimus habere tres scriptores*'. By the middle of December the copy was finished, the final gatherings returned and Marco offered, if possible, to render a similar service to the lord of Mantua. Presumably, therefore, this medical treatise was an addition to an existing collection of manuscripts owned by Marco.

The correspondent from the Visconti court in Milan who most frequently asked to borrow books was Giberto da Corregio, a nephew of Lodovico Gonzaga. Giberto was borrowing books, including both classical and romance works,<sup>74</sup> from the Gonzaga library from December 1376 until 1382, the year of his death. The motive behind some at least of these borrowings was to

have copies made: a letter dated 18 May, amongst papers of 1479, from Giberto to Lodovico reads, 'Placeat insupere mittere michi librum qui intitulatur Speculum historiarum quem cito remittam vobis salvum et bene custoditum cum Apulegio quem jam feci exemplari, sed nondum corrigi...'

None of the surviving letters from Bernabò himself refers to books<sup>75</sup> but the transactions referred to above demonstrate the active interest taken in manuscripts by three members of his court or family. It is necessary to be hesitant when dealing with such scraps of information but what evidence there is suggests that members of the court in Milan were commissioning manuscripts and having them decorated earlier and in greater numbers than the court in Pavia. The impetus for the luxury book trade in Lombardy which is so often credited to Giangaleazzo<sup>76</sup> should perhaps rather be laid at Bernabò's door and the patronage and production of manuscripts-de-luxe in Lombardy be seen as a continuation and consequence of the interest and activity of Bernabo's court when he was lord of Milan.

The earliest of the manuscripts in the style of Latin 757 date from the end of Bernabò's reign and seem likely to have been made in Milan.<sup>77</sup> If Latin 757 was made for Bertrando de' Rossi in the second half of the 1380s, as seems most likely,<sup>78</sup> this was the period

immediately after Bernabò's fall, Bertrando may have taken up the pattern of patronage, and perhaps even the craftsman, of his former lord.<sup>79</sup>

#### Books at the Lombard courts

The manuscripts associable in style with Latin 757 are the earliest group amongst the luxury books produced in Lombardy and this workshop seems to have developed in response to a new or increased demand for illuminated manuscripts. With the international links of both branches of the Visconti family and their respective courts, the adoption of the attributes and accessories of international court culture is not surprising but perhaps the importance of foreign influence can be overemphasized. With the record of the purchases of books in Paris, the presence of French-produced manuscripts in the library of the Castello di Pavia and the French wives of both Galeazzo and Giangaleazzo Visconti, it is only to be expected that both French manuscripts and French tastes will be reflected in the books produced in this context. This is particularly seen in the imitation of French decoration in the Pavian-produced manuscripts. For the interest in manuscripts and the type of book commissioned, however, the peer group of Italian lords may have been equally influential. As a consequence of the expansion of Giangaleazzo's political ambitions and dominance there was the crass extreme of what

might be called influence by assimilation, as when Giangaleazzo took over the Carrara library in 1388. But earlier than this the Gonzaga lords of Mantua seem to have been looked to not only as a standard of courtly comportment but also as the source of supply. There were frequent letters to Mantua in the years 1366-74 when Galeazzo was equipping the newly-built Castello di Pavia. These requested the despatch of painters to decorate the walls of the castle, plants for the park and a range of livestock including falcons, hunting dogs, joust horses and a sorry succession of swans, which arrived in such bad condition that they immediately needed replacing.<sup>80</sup> When Giangaleazzo wrote asking for painters in 1380 he was following family tradition.

The importance of the Gonzaga library as a source of exemplars has already been discussed but perhaps the institution itself provided an example to members of the Visconti family and court. Already by 1366 the Gonzaga collection was sufficiently well-established and known for Guido to be receiving requests for loans.<sup>81</sup>

Even de-luxe Books of Hours, which as a type are sometimes said to have been introduced to Italy with the examples grouped with Latin 757,<sup>82</sup> had their precedents in the Gonzaga household. Amongst the books listed in 1381 in the 'Liber iocalium Magnificae Domine Elisabethae', daughter of Lodovico I Conzaga, are

'Item quator officiola domine nostre.....Item



unus officiolum Virginis Marie cum parmulis  
argenti aurati et smaltati et inminiatus de  
auro.....Item unus officiolum domine nostre  
parvus...'.<sup>83</sup>

It may be that one of these, like the earlier Hours owned by the ladies of the Visconti family, was of French manufacture, since the books described more fully in the settlement drawn up in 1386 on the marriage of Elisabetta with Carlo Malatesta seem to be, in the main, those of the earlier list and include the following Hours:

'...Item unum officiolum videlicet salterium a parte magna parvi voluminis pulcerimum scriptum littera parisina iminiatum de auro cum azolis argenti auratus et smaltatus cum aliquibus perlis de super.....Item unum officiolum copertum panno deaurato ad coronas Quod incipitur Jam prima dies et finitur Requiescant in pace Amen. Item unum aliud officiolum copertum veluto azuro cum 4 azolis argenti aureatis istoriatum per itus(?) figuris deauratis iminiatum de auro ad coronas quod incipitur Dies prima Jani et finitur Et ne nos inducas. Item unum aliud officiolum parvulum copertum veluto rubeo quod incipitur Domine labia mea aperies et finitur Requiescant in pace Amen.'<sup>84</sup>

It is not necessary to account for the classes of book commissioned by members of the Visconti court and produced in the style of Latin 757 in terms of the

direct influence of the French court, resulting from the diplomatic and marriage alliances of both branches of the Visconti family. There were precedents for such health handbooks, romances, Books of Hours and classical texts in the manuscripts owned and loaned by the Gonzagas of Mantua. This is not, of course, to deny the ultimate authority of the Parisian court for setting the standards of courtly behaviour and culture throughout Europe in the fourteenth century, simply to question the role of the Visconti as a channel for bringing such standards into Italy.

Nonetheless, even if the Books of Hours produced in Lombardy in the last two decades of the fourteenth century were not the earliest individual examples in Italy they do comprise the earliest surviving group and several features suggest that this was a new type of commission, at least in this context, evolving in a somewhat individual way rather than following an established form. In addition to the Hours of Blanche of Savoy and the three Books of Hours decorated in the style of Latin 757 other extensively illustrated Books of Hours apparently produced in Milan are:

- (i) Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale, Banco Rari 397 and Landau Finaly 22;
- (ii) Modena, Biblioteca Estense,  $\alpha$  7.3 (Latin 842); (ills 200-03);

- (iii) Parma, Biblioteca Palatina ms. 56;  
(ills 206-09);
- (iv) The Hague, Royal Library, ms. 76 F. 6  
the Hours of Isabelle of Castile,  
(ills 204-05)<sup>85</sup>

Although individuality of content to suit the patron is characteristic of the bespoke production of these private devotional books, the range and variety of the contents of these examples, which by time, place, style and, where known, patron are otherwise closely linked, is surprising. Not only does it contrast with the more standardised products of centres in France or the Netherlands where book-production was a well-established and well-integrated industry but it shows an evolving form, on the whole free from dependence upon imported models and independent of tradition. The absence of an entrepreneur or craftsman to advise on and co-ordinate the completion of the different skills needed in making an illuminated manuscript has already been seen in the sometimes awkward relation between illustration and text; but individually, as far as these components were concerned, it resulted in flexibility and adaptability. The contents of these books range from the relatively rare combination in the Books for Bertrando de' Rossi of Hours and Missal,<sup>86</sup> to the Visconti Hours in which, drawing upon the earlier type of lay prayerbook, Psalter and Hours were combined.<sup>87</sup> The freedom from tradition is evident too in the illustrative programmes of these manuscripts. There is

no conformity to a preferred cycle for the illustrations even of the basic elements: the Hours of the Virgin are variously illustrated in these Books of Hours made in Milan with scenes from the Passion of Christ, the Infancy of Christ, the Creation, the Life of Joachim and Anna and a selection of scenes from the Birth of Christ to the Assumption of the Virgin. In one case, the Parma manuscript, they have no illustration at all.<sup>88</sup>

This variety and diversity may be taken as indicative of both the novelty of this type of commission and the freedom of approach that the compilers of the illustrative cycles showed in response to it. Had the idea for lavishly illuminated Hours originated with the wish to emulate French examples, the wish for emulation did not extend to the illustrative cycles themselves; none of these books, from the Hours of Blanche of Savoy on, seems likely to have been based on the example of a French manuscript for either the choice and sequence of subjects illustrated or the page lay-out.<sup>89</sup> The only possible exception is in the case of the two Books of Hours made for Bertrando de' Rossi where there is a loose adherence in the sequence of miniatures of the Passion of Christ to the cycle used in some French manuscripts, either as a subsidiary cycle in the Office of the Virgin or to illustrate the Office of the Passion.<sup>90</sup> The dependence of some of the Latin 757 miniatures of this cycle upon other identified Lombard

works of art makes a precise reference to a French model unlikely. It would, anyhow, be at odds with the customary process of composition in miniatures in this style for the designer to have taken over an entire composition, let alone an entire cycle.

The choice of subject matter in Latin 757 seems on the whole to be either for the obvious or the expedient. The unusual series of Creation miniatures (ills 1, 3, 5 and 6) to illustrate the Abbreviated Hours of the Days of the Week can probably be accounted for by the appropriate position of such a sequence at the beginning of the book and the appropriate number of scenes for the devotion. It was a stunningly successful choice and had the practical advantage of avoiding the duplication of subject matter when the Masses for the Days of the Week, with the same dedications, came to be illustrated later in the book. The only recondite choice of miniatures seems to be the consequence, once more, of a wish to avoid duplication. Since a sequence of scenes from the Passion of Christ had been used to illustrate the Office of the Virgin the miniature to introduce the Hours of the Passion, on f.162 (ill. 18) shows the unusual subject of Christ in Judgement, displaying his wounds, surrounded by the instruments of the Passion and with the Virgin and John the Baptist interceding.<sup>91</sup> Similarly, the Mass of the

Dead in the Ferial Masses is introduced, on f.237 (ill. 22) by a miniature of the Man of Sorrows with the Instruments of the Passion. This is a more approximate choice than a burial scene would have been but such a subject would have repeated the miniature before the Office of the Dead.<sup>92</sup>

Apart from these the miniatures are usually a narrative treatment of a subject obviously related to the text.<sup>93</sup> This is not necessarily the case with the other Books of Hours and the illustrations in the Hours of Blanche of Savoy often, as has been pointed out, seem arbitrary when considered in relation to the text, surely another indication of the novelty that the task of producing such a book presented, not only because of the text but also in the extent of its decoration.

To some extent features of these Books of Hours could be seen as symptomatic of the whole state of manuscript production in Lombardy in the second half of the fourteenth century. They exemplify the relative unimportance of Pavia compared to Milan for the crafts of the book in general, and of luxury books in particular. And on the basis of these survivals even in Milan it was only in the last third of the century that there developed an indigenous style of illumination in response to a growing demand for opulently decorated books from members of the Visconti courts. This style, drawing upon earlier manuscripts and frescoes in Lombardy is seen at its richest and most achieved in Latin 757.

## Notes to Chapter 6

1. Only a handful of manuscripts with any extensive illumination, which seem earlier than the 1370s can be localised to Milan. These are either isolated examples, like the *Tristan*, Paris, B.N. fr.755, or are illuminated in a style associable with Bologna, like Goffredo da Viterbo's *Pantheon*, Paris, B.N. Latin 4895; see *Dix siècles...*, 1984 pp.91-92.

Three other manuscripts with a Milanese provenance have been attributed to the second artist at work in the *Pantheon*: a *Psalter and Martyrology*, Berlin, Kupferstich-Kabinet ms.78 C 16, a *Passionary*, Milan, Ambrosiana, P.165 sup. and a *Saint Augustine*, Paris, B.N. Latin 2066, P. Toesca, *La pittura...*, 1966, p.99.

Avril in *Dix siècles...*, 1984, p.91 wrote that the second, less obviously Bolognese influenced master of the *Pantheon* 'peut être considéré comme le fondateur de l'enluminure gothique en Lombardie'.

A. Conti, *La miniatura Bolognese; Scuole e botteghe, 1270-1340* (Bologna, 1981), however, referred to the second artist as Paduan.

The *Cronica Mediolani*, Paris, B.N. Latin 4946 may show some links in style to the *Pantheon*, *Dix siècles...*, 1984, p.92. However this manuscript is unfinished. There are illustrations only to f.7v. and these usually remain as sketches in ink. Where paint has been applied on ff.3v. and 6v. it is extremely heavy and clumsy.

2. The Visconti archives have fared particularly badly. After the fall of Bernabò in 1385, his and his sons' palaces were sacked. Also the tax records of the gabella del sale were dispersed in both Milan and other cities of his dominion. In 1447, after the death of Filippo-Maria Visconti, the Castello di Porta Giovia was invaded and the archives there were destroyed. C. Santoro, La politica finanziaria dei Visconti: documenti, vol. I (Milan, 1976), p.XVI.

For the Visconti archive, its location and fragmentary survivals see A.R. Natale, 'Per la storia dell' Archivio, Visconteo signorile. Il frammento de Registro di Bernabò del 1358', Archivio Storico Lombardo (1977), pp.9-46.

Apart from the inscriptions within manuscripts, this study is reliant upon published sources.

3. G.H. Putnam, Books and their makers in the Middle Ages (New York/London, 1896), pp.225-75, discussed the trade in manuscripts throughout Europe. Documents relating to manuscript illumination in Florence and Bologna are published by M. Levi d'Ancona, Miniatura e miniatori a Firenze dal XIV al XVI secolo. Documenti per la storia della miniatura (Florence, 1962) and F. Filippini and G. Zucchini, Miniatori e pittori a Bologna; documenti dei secoli XIII e XIV (Florence, 1947).



Some aspects of the production of illuminated manuscripts in Bologna are discussed by Conti, La miniatura Bolognese..., 1981, pp.7-18.

4. After the death of archbishop Giovanni in 1354 the lordship of Milan and its dominions passed to his three nephews, Matteo, Bernabò and Galeazzo. Matteo died in 1355 and Bernabò and Galeazzo shared between them the lands over which Giovanni had held dominion, Galeazzo ruling in the west and Bernabò in the east. Only Milan was held in common. Pavia had been successfully independent but in 1359 surrendered to Galeazzo. Galeazzo built his castello there and by 1365 had taken up residence and for all practical purposes left Milan to Bernabò.
  
5. R. Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico dell'Università di Pavia, vol.I, 1361-1400 (Pavia, 1905), item 275 on p.133, item 438 on p.231, item 312 on p.158 and item 417 on p.212.
  
6. L. Franchi, Statuti e ordinamenti della Università di Pavia, dall'anno 1361 all'anno 1859 (Pavia, 1925), published three sets of early statutes of the University: those of 1395 of the Università dei giuristi and, also of 1395, of the Collegio dei Dottori in ambe le Leggi and those of 1409 of the Collegio dei Dottori in Arti e Medecine. Only

the first include any regulations governing the production or sale of books: LVIII, De officio stationariorum et ligatorum librorum et ad quid teneantur; LIX, Quantum recipere debeant stationarii pro vendicione librorum; LX, De arbitrio rectoris super stationarios; LXI, De iuramento scriptorum; LXII, De modo servando per scriptores famulos scholarium; LXIII, Quod creditores scriptores non recipiant ab eis libros vel pecias pro pignore; LXIV, Qualiter terminentur lites inter scriptorem et scolarem; LXVI, De privilegiis scholarium, pp.52-57, and LXXI, Quod scolares aut libri eorum exire non possint sine licencia rectoris, p.60.

7. H. Rashdall, The Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages, ed. F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden, 3 vols (Oxford, 1936), (new edition of 1895 original), I, pp.179, 189-90, 421-24 and III, pp.26-27. Putnam, Books..., 1896, pp.184-94. H. Denifle, 'Die Statuten der Juristen Universitat Bologna vom J. 1317-1347 und deren Verhältniss zu jenen Paduas, Perugias, Florenz', Archiv für Literatur und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters, 3 (1887), pp.254-304. P. Delalain, Étude sur le libraire parisien du XIIIe au XVe siècle, d'après les documents publiés dans le cartulaire de l'université de Paris (Paris, 1891), pp.30-36.

8. It was only around 1421 that the graduations became

numerous and the University entered a period of permanent prosperity, Rashdall, The Universities..., 1936, II, pp.52-56. See also Z. Volta, 'Dei gradi academici conferiti nello 'Studio Generale' di Pavia sotto il domino Visconteo', Archivio Storico Lombardo (1890), pp.517-84.

9. The fundamental study and discussion of this device for the efficient and controlled copying of approved texts is J. Destrez, La Pecia dans les manuscrits universitaires du XIIIe au XIVE siècle (Paris, 1935). On p.25 he discussed the regulations governing la pecia in Bologna. Putnam, Books..., 1896, pp.186 and 191 emphasised the precision with which petiae were regulated in Italy. Such was the standardisation of this practice in Italian university towns other than Pavia that Denifle was able to publish one set of Bologna statutes, merely noting variants. For the statutes governing the appointing and role of the petiarii who have authority over stationers, Denifle, 'Die Statuten...', 1887, pp.279-81 and for those governing the estimators and stationers which include the scale of charges for hiring petiae according to text, pp.291-304.
10. De Winter, 'Copistes...', 1978, pp.174-75.

11. De Winter 'Copistes...', 1978, pp.181-82.  
Rashdall, The Universities..., 1936, II, p.190.
  
12. In Bologna the University sought to have jurisdiction over all classes of tradesmen engaged in book production: 'scriptores, miniatores, correctores et miniorum repositores atque rasoires librorum, ligatores, cartolarii et qui vivunt pro universitate scholarium,' Rashdall, The Universities..., 1936, I, p.179 and n.4.  
In the Pavian statutes miniaturists and correctors are only mentioned once, when they are barred from acting as stationarii unless they take the oath and provide security, Franchi, Statuti..., 1925, p.54.
  
13. An earlier regulation in Bologna had prohibited students from selling manuscripts for profit but this fell out of use in the fourteenth century, Putnam, Books..., 1896, p.192.
  
14. Putnam, Books..., 1896, p.192.
  
15. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.114-15  
'Pantaleonus de Crema, filius quondam Zambonini de Plaranicis de Crema bidellus generalis studii Papiensis ac specialis bidellus reverendissimi collegii dominorum doctorum utriusque juris...'.

From the occasional usage of bidelli to mean stationarii in some towns there becomes a more general usage of bidellus to mean scribe, Putnam, Books..., 1896, pp.187 and 189. This seems not to be the case in the Pavian statutes and the description of Pantalemon above refers to his status as a disciplinary official of the University.

16. E. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.114-16, 243, 102 and 119 identifies these books with items 187, 193, 772, 136 and 204 of the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library in the Castello di Pavia.

A fifth manuscript with the ex-libris of Angelus de Sanguineis, Petrarch's Liber de remediis utriusque fortune, Paris, B.N. Latin 6499, is written in a different hand on paper, Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, item 386, p.160.

17. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.99, suggests that this may be item 124 of the 1426 inventory. It is worth considering whether the dedication copy of Baldo degli Ubaldi's Commentarius in feudorum usus, Paris, B.N. Latin 11727, was written by its author. The fulsome explicit implies as much.

18. See Ch.5, p.228 and n.40.
  
19. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.261
  
20. The manuscripts have been identified with items 374, 179, 172, 965, 773, 292 and 632 of the 1426 inventory: Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.156, 111, 110, 285, 243-44, 138 and 212-13.
  
21. Pellegrin, 'Notes sur divers manuscrits...', 1958, pp.14-16.
  
22. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, pp.14-20, discusses these manuscripts and others which, on less compelling grounds she attributes to Pasquino's ownership.
  
23. The Historia Naturalis of the Ambrosiana did not appear in the Visconti inventories. The arms of Pasquino on f.1 have been overpainted with those of Giovanni Bolognino Attendolo count of Sant' Angelo. He was castellano of the Castello di Pavia during the reign of Galeazzo Maria Sforza. The back end-papers of Paris B.N. fr.343 carry several monograms of Galeazzo Maria and the motto Moderata durant. There are also two verses in Italian signed Iohannes de sto angello. One complaining couplet seems to read:

'che serve a la homo ingrato el po be(n) dire  
chalpele el fructo de el suo ben servire.'

24. pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.110, n.3.

25. Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico dell'Universita...,  
1905, p.403, item 715.

26. R. Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico artistico di  
Pavia dall'anno 1330 all'anno 1550 (Pavia, 1937),  
pp.18 and 21, a payment of 14 September 1396,  
'Mutuo presbitero Facio de Castoldis Capellano  
ecclesie sancte eufemie mediolani qui facere  
debet Missalia duo, antifonaria duo et emit certas  
cartas magnas pro certis libris cantus, fiendis  
etc. pro florenis lx, libras lxxxxvi.', and  
another of 28 December 1396, 'Mutuo presbitero  
Facio de Castoldis beneficiari ecclesie sancte  
Eufemie super eius ratione certorum librorum per  
eum fiendorum pro dominis Prioribus Cartusie  
suprascripte libr. xxxii.

A payment of 14 December goes to a scribe  
not otherwise known who might have been Pavian:  
'Muto magistro Iacobo de Novaria qui scribere  
promisit et debet certos libros pro ecclesia  
ordinis Cartusie... pro florenis xv, libras xxiv.'  
This is clearly a less major commission than those  
to Fazio, even accounting for the element of the  
payment to Fazio which covers the cost of the  
parchment.

27. O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated manuscripts of the Bodleian Library (Oxford, 1970), II, p.19 and pl. XVII, where the illumination is attributed to Anovelo da Imbonate. The arms of the Bossi may be overpainted.
  
28. Ch.5, p.230.
  
29. Annali della Fabbrica..., 1877-84, I, p.278, II, p.59 and App.II, pp.279, 280, 286, 287, 288, 292, 293. Because these records are so informative and interesting they are reproduced here as Appendix I.  
  
CFM 9 of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, must be the first volume of the fabbrica's copy of the Ambrosianae. Consequently the 'Master of the Modena Hours' can be identified as the illuminator of that manuscript, Thomasino Vimercate. See Appendix I.
  
30. I am grateful to François Avril for clarifying this.
  
31. The appearance of this style of painting in, on the one hand, manuscripts made for other known Pavian patrons and, on the other hand, in manuscripts including painting in a securely Pavian style, see below, argues that it is itself a Pavian product.



32. Dix siècles..., 1984, item 87, p.101.
  
33. This inscription is the only document which  
Maiocchi produced for manuscript illumination in  
Pavia in the fourteenth century in his Codice  
diplomatico artistico..., 1937.
  
34. Dix siècles..., 1984, items 88 and 89, pp.102- 03.  
Another manuscript with initials in this style is  
Cicero's De amicitia de officiis, Oxford, Bodleian  
Library, Canon. Class. Lat.221, Pächt and Alexander,  
Illuminated manuscripts..., 1970, II, p.19, pl.XVIII.
  
35. Only ff.51, and 57 are like the Ambrosiana's Pliny,  
the others ff.60, 65, 70, 75, 78, 81 and 84  
onwards are in much closer imitation of French  
initials and sprays but in execution, throughout  
the rest of the manuscript, these initials become  
sloppier and more simplified.
  
36. Dix siècles..., 1984, item 89, p.103.
  
37. Paris, B.N. Latin 8700 (ill. 198) is another  
manuscript from this workshop with initials in  
close imitation of contemporary French decoration.  
Although none of the other Lombard manuscripts with  
a provenance from the Visconti library in Pavia,  
which have decoration closely imitating fourteenth

century French illumination can be attributed to Pietro da Pavia's workshop, several of these manuscripts could be linked to Pavia for their manufacture, Paris, B.N., Latin 6496 and 5067 were written by Armannus, Latin 5067 for Pasquino Capelli. Paris, B.N. Latin 8028 and 5840 are painted in the same style, and Latin 8028 was painted for the Pavian notary Augustinus Fazardus. Paris, B.N. Latin 11727 was probably the presentation copy of Baldo degli Ubaldi's work which was published in Pavia in 1393. A copy of the Comedies of Terence written in Pavia in 1400, Oxford Bodleian, Rawl. G.135, also has decoration in close imitation of French initials and sprays, Pächt and Alexander, The Illuminated Manuscripts..., 1970, II, p.72 and pl.LXVI.

It may be, therefore, that this imitative style of manuscript decoration should be particularly associated with Pavia, although it clearly had a wider currency than that. For example, the Gualterii Anglici, Romulae Fabulae, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria ms.1213, (ill.210) is attributed to the Master of the Modena Hours, whose activity can be securely linked to Milan, see n.29.

38. François Avril in his entry in Dix siècles..., 1984, pp.105-6, attributes the painting in the Valerius Maximus, Paris, B.N. Latin 5840 to the same hand,

as also most of the painting in a Petrarch of the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice, Cod. lat.VI 86 (2593). He suggests that the artist might be Avignonese.

39. Dix siècles..., 1984, item 94, pp.107-08  
D. Sellin, Michelino da Besozzo (Ann Arbor, 1966)
  
40. Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico artistico..., 1937, I, pp.11-12. Annali della Fabbrica..., 1877-84, I, p.261, in a discussion of July 1404 on the windows of the cathedral and a decision to call upon Michelino, he is described as 'Magistro Michelino da Besutio pictore commorante Papiae,.... quoniam summus fertur esse in arte pictoria et designamenti ex quo speratur quam multum erit utilis fabricae.'
  
41. Arte Lombarda..., 1958, pp.57-8, pl.LXII, François Avril, Dix siècles..., 1984, p.101, seems to accept the attribution to Michelino and points out the stylistic link with Pietro da Pavia. The monastery of S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro, of which Pietro da Pavia was apparently a member, provided both a place of work and patrons for Michelino.
  
42. E.H. Wilkins Petrarch's Later Years (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), pp.149 and 169.

43. See Appendix I.
  
44. The most likely Visconti patron would be Giangaleazzo's widow, Caterina. The manuscript is perhaps equally likely to have been a presentation copy made and illuminated for the author Pietro da Castellato, an Augustinian from S. Pietro in Ciel d'oro.
  
45. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.50.
  
46. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.111, item 178 of the 1426 inventory.  
 For a bibliography on the books owned by Petrarch and which, via the Carrara Library, found their way to Pavia, Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.6 and 368 and La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, pp.20-23 and 56.
  
47. Dix siècles..., item 91, pp.104-5. M. Meiss, 'An early Lombard altar-piece', Arte antica e moderna, 1961, pp.125- 33, attributes an altar-piece in a private collection to the artist of this frontispiece.
  
48. Item 220, in the 1426 inventory, however, has Giangaleazzo's ex-libris as the explicit. It is grudgingly described as 'Dantis commentis satis magnam copertum corio rubeo veteri cum clavis

et seraturis'. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.123.

Item 234, p.126, 'Romanus de voto pavonis parvi voluminis in gallico coperti drapo sete rubee cum duabus seraturis argenti deaurati... donatus domino per dominam Isabellam sororem I. domine comitisse Virtutum die 27 martii portatus per Prevedinum'.

Neither of these have been identified with surviving manuscripts. On p.45 Pellegrin pointed out that Giangaleazzo 'fit copier très peu des manuscrits' and also that surprisingly few presentation copies of their own works were given to him by members of his court.

49. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.43-4 and La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, pp.31-3.

50. A Gradual, New York, Pierpont-Morgan Library, m.115, made for another charterhouse, that of Champmol, and dated 1470, has the arms of its founders, Philip the Bold and Margaret of Flanders, in many borders although Philip the Bold had died in 1404 and Margaret in 1405. J. Plummer, Liturgical Manuscripts for the Mass and the Divine Office (New York, 1964), p.21.

F. Carta, Codici miniati della Biblioteca Nazionale di Milano (Rome, 1891), p.36, held the view that Giangaleazzo's arms were present because he was the

founder of the monastery and not the donor of the manuscripts. Furthermore, on p.37, he pointed out that the Visconti arms quartered with the lily of France were used on diplomas of Caterina and Gian-Maria in 1402-1412, now in the Archivio di Stato, Milan.

51. See n.26.
  
52. Dix siècles..., 1984, item 93, pp.106-07. The border style of Latin 364, which does seem to be by the same hand as the miniatures, has been linked with lot 14 of the Dyson Perrins collection, Sothebys, I (London, 1958), pp.36-8 and also to Paris, B.N. Latin 7877, De Genealogia Deorum.
  
53. For example, by D.M. Bueno de Mesquita, Giangaleazzo Visconti, (Cambridge, 1941), p.184. 'Giangaleazzo wished his possessions to be beautiful, and miniaturists were constantly at work embellishing the volumes in the library.'
  
54. The reason why Giangaleazzo was able to take Bernabò so easily was because Bernabò met him outside the walls of Milan, in recognition of Giangaleazzo's fear of entering the city. Bueno de Mesquita, Giangaleazzo..., 1941, pp.26-32.

55. Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico artistico..., 1937, p.5. This letter shows the high reputation of Mantuan painters 'quia intelleximus in civitate vostra Mantue esse bonos depinctores.'
- Giangaleazzo was following his father's precedent: Galeazzo wrote to Guido Gonzaga requesting painters in May 1366, Maiocchi, Codice diplomatico artistico..., 1937, pp.2-3.
- A. Martindale, 'Painting for Pleasure - some lost 15th century secular decorations of Northern Italy' in The Vanishing Past, Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler, edited by Alan Borg and Andrew Martindale, BAR International Series III (Oxford, 1981), p.112 and n.20 on p.124, pointed out that it is clear from the unpublished inventory made in 1407 on the death of Francesco I, Archivio Gonzaga Busta 329, that many of the rooms of the Gonzaga palace had been painted and it was perhaps for this reason that Giangaleazzo approached the lord of Mantua.
56. Bueno de Mesquita, Giangaleazzo..., 1941, pp.177 and 302.
57. L. Delisle, Le Cabinet des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque impériale (nationale) (Paris, 1868), I, p.129. Magenta, I Visconti..., 1883, I, p.113,

suggested that it was as a result of his visit to Paris in 1360 that Petrarch instigated the foundation of the library. See E.H. Wilkins, Life of Petrarch (Chicago, 1961), pp.56-221 for the freindship of Petrarch and Galeazzo.

58. P. Morigia, Historia dell'antichità di Milano, (Venice, 1591), I, p.128.
59. Pellegrin, 'Portraits...', 1954, pp.113-15.
60. Pellegrin, La Bibliotheque..., 1955, pp.140-41, 175-76 and 126 respectively.
61. This has the following ex-libris on f.1 'Iste liber est illustris domine Blanche de Sabaudia... donatus prefate domine per d. comitem virtutem.'  
The Count of Virtue was the title given to Giangaleazzo by Charles V of France when his sister, Isabelle married Giangaleazzo in 1360.
62. Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.165, suggests that this may be part of a Somme le Roi.
63. Magenta, I Visconti..., 1883, I, p.113. Blanche's book cost LX francs and Isabelle's XXVI francs.



64. Edmunds, 'The Medieval Library...', 1971, p.257.  
In April 1889 a few folios of a prayerbook were uncovered in the tomb of Isabelle de Valois, C. dell'Acqua, Bianca Visconti di Savoia in Pavia e l'insigne monastero di S. Chiara La Reale di sua fondazione (Pavia, 1893), p.34.
65. It is always possible that, like the scribes working on the Ambrosianae for the fabbrica, miniaturists could have worked in the household of the patron. This would account for unfinished manuscripts, like Smith-Lesouëf 22, remaining in the hands of the family for which they were being made. In 1400 the fabbrica released Salomone de' Grassi for one week each month to work upon 'cujusdam libri' for Caterina Visconti, duchess of Milan. Annali della fabbrica..., 1877-84, App.II, p.256. In February of 1400 Salomone had travelled to Pavia in connection with designing Galeazzo's tomb.
66. Putnam, Books..., 1896, p.241, maintains that, next to Florence, Milan was the most important centre for the manuscript trade in Northern Italy and as early as the middle of the fourteenth century 40 professional scribes were working in the city, compared to the two copyists serving a population of about 200,000 at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Putnam gives no source

for this and it is possible that it is a garbled reflection of the intensely statistical account of Milan written by Fra Bonvesino dalla Riva in 1288-9. He gave the number of 'cittadini e forensi' as 'piu di duecentomila' and the number of scribes who copied books for a living as forty.

Fra Bonvesino dalla Riva, Le Meraviglie di Milano, traduzione dal testo latino introduzione e commenti del Dott. Ettore Verga (Milan, 1921), pp.15 and 21.

67. Other than the manuscripts mentioned in n.1 the only extensively decorated book, at least to be known, which can be thought to be of Milanese production of the middle of the fourteenth century is the Missal, Milan, Biblioteca Capitolare, II. D.2.32. Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, p.128 and figs 220 and 221.
68. Corio's report of Giangaleazzo's acquisition of Bernabò's treasure does not mention books: 'La prossima matina della Domenica hebbe il Castello, overo Cittadella di S. Nazaro, con la Rocca di Porta Romana, nel quale si scrive essergli trovato 6 carra d'argento lavorato, e prezioso mobile, e 700 milla fiorini d'oro', B. Corio, L'Historia di Milano (Padua, 1646), p.506.

69. f.lv. P. Champion, La librairie de Charles d'Orléans, (Paris, 1910), p.VII. Surely if Giangaleazzo had any reputation either for the patronage of learning or books it would have been cited by Bonet. Giangaleazzo was, after all, Valentina's father.
  
70. For the collections and patronage of these most influential bibliophiles, see Coulter, 'The Library of the Angevin Kings...', 1944, pp.141- 55 and La Librairie de Charles V, catalogue of the 1968 exhibition in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.
  
71. F. Novati, 'I codici francesi de' Gonzaga secondo nuovi documenti', Romania, 19, (1890), pp.164-200.
  
72. Novati, 'I codici...', 1890, pp.171-74
  
73. As in the case of the Ambrosianae for the fabbrica of the cathedral of Milan, the copy is made from unbound gatherings. It is not clear, apart from the use of petiae for approved university texts, how necessary this practice may have been.
  
74. Novati, 'I codici...', 1890, pp.183-89.
  
75. Novati, 'I codici...', 1890, p.174, n.1.

76. M. Meiss, for example, in the introduction of Meiss and Kirsch, The Visconti Hours, 1972, p.9.  
'Indeed in the late fourteenth century he (Giangaleazzo) made this city (Pavia) and Milan major European centres for the production of illuminated manuscripts'.
77. See Ch.4, pp.181 and 279.
78. See Ch.1, p.30 and Ch.4.
79. The links between Bernabò and the style of Latin 757 are tantalizing but tenuous: the drawing of the zodiac signs in B.N. Latin 7323 and the possibility that he commissioned the Lancelot du lac, fr.343
80. Magenta, I Visconti..., 1883, II, pp.26-39, for Galeazzo's requests to Lodovico, Francesco and Guido Gonzaga.
81. Novati, 'I codici...', 1890, p.164.
82. Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, pp.77-78.
83. U. Meroni, Mostra dei codici Gonzagheschi, La Biblioteca dei Gonzaga da Luigi I ad Isabella, catalogue of the exhibition of 1966 at the Biblioteca Comunale, Mantua, pp.43-44.
84. Meroni, Mostra..., 1966, p.44. In comparison, Valentina Visconti took less than half the total

number of Elizabetta's books, when she went to France to join her husband, Louis of Touraine, later Louis d'Orléans, in 1389. R.I.S.XVI. 808E-809B.

85. For i) see Meiss and Kirsch, Visconti Hours, 1972; for ii) see D. Fava and M. Salmi, I Manoscritti miniati della Biblioteca Estense di Modena, 2 (Milan, 1973), pp.14-18; for iii) see A. Ciavarella, Codici miniati della Biblioteca Palatina di Parma (Milan, 1964), p.42; for iv) see Byvanck, Les principaux manuscrits..., 1924, pp.36-41.

The early work in the Florence Manuscript is attributed to Giovannino de' Grassi and was started for Giangaleazzo Visconti.

Many prayers in the Modena manuscript include the name Balzarinnus, which may refer to Balzarino della Pusterla, a Milanese knight who, like Bertrando de' Rossi, was a member of Bernabò's court who changed his allegiance to Giangaleazzo. This Book of Hours furnishes the soubriquet of the Master of the Modena Hours. The Parma manuscript was also painted by this illuminator. In this prayerbook the elements customary to a Book of Hours are swamped in a plethora of other prayers. Several of these name the owner as Beatrice: perhaps the second wife of Balzarino. The highest quality work of this very variable illustrator is found in The Hague Hours of Isabelle of Castile.

I have not been able to see the manuscript which was lot 66 of the 1959 Sotheby's sale of the Dyson Perrins collection. As it survives it does not contain two of the texts essential to a Book of Hours, a Calendar and the Office of the Virgin itself. Thirty-two folios are missing from the thirty-six gatherings and without a collation it is impossible to tell whether or not it once had full-page miniatures. Sir George Warner, Descriptive Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts in the Library of C.W. Dyson Perrins (Oxford, 1910), pp.154-5, fig.LX.

86. The closest analogy to these are the books made for members of the French royal family which also contain Masses for the principle feasts alongside the texts more customary to a Book of Hours. The Missal elements of these books were according to the use of Sainte Chapelle.
- In addition to the Petites Heures and the Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame of Jean de Berry (in Les Fastes du Gothique, catalogue of the exhibition in the Grand Palais (Paris, 1981-2) François Avril gives a cogent summary and appraisal of the arguments for dating and patronage of the manuscripts, and a full bibliography), both the Grandes Heures of Philip the Bold (de Winter, 'The Grandes Heures...', 1982, pp.786-842) and the Hours of Savoy with the additions made to it for Charles V (P. Durrieu,

'Notice d'un des plus importants livres, de prières du roi Charles V les Heures de Savoie', Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, '72 (1911), pp.500-55 )

were examples of such combined texts made earlier than Latin 757, although the illustration of the two books of Jean de Berry were not completed immediately. No mention is made of Bertrando de' Rossi taking part in any of the proposals for a marriage between Valentina Visconti and Louis II of Anjou, G. Romano, Il Matrimonio di Valentina Visconti e la Casa di Savoia: riposta a J. Camus, (Messina, 1899), which would have been one occasion when Bertrando might have gained knowledge of these books. It was presumably during his documented visit to France in 1395 to secure an alliance with Charles VI that Bertrando ordered or bought the two books of Parisian manufacture which contain his arms or emblems. Dix siècles..., 1984, p.96.

87. Leroquais, Les Livres d'heures..., 1927, I, pp.IX-XII.

88. See Appendix II. There is a comparable variety in the scale and format of these illustrations. All these manuscripts contain full-page miniatures and it is therefore surprising that in some of them the central text should only warrant illustration with historiated initials.

M.M. Manion and V.F. Vines, Illuminated Manuscripts in Australian collections (Melbourne/London/New York, 1984), item 14, pp.70-71, pl.12 and figs 48-55, publishing a Book of Hours localised to Perugia c.1375, emphasize the variation in its illustrative programme from that of French Books of Hours, since the Hours of the Passion and Cross are given equal importance to the Little Office of the Virgin. Each of the Hours of the Virgin and of the Hours of the Passion and Cross is illustrated with a historiated initial, the Hours of the Virgin with scenes from the Infancy of Christ and the Dormition and Assumption of the Virgin and the Hours of the Passion and Cross with a Passion cycle. Manion and Vine relate the programme of the Passion sequence to late fourteenth century Lombard manuscripts and, in its emphasis on the various phases of the crucifixion, with the Meditations on the Life of Christ by Pseudo-Bonaventura. This aspect of the programme is not reflected in the Lombard manuscripts and for the books of Bertrando de' Rossi these cycles illustrate the Office of the Virgin.

89. The Book of Hours made for Queen Joanna of Naples in the middle of the fourteenth century seems to follow a French exemplum for part of its illustration as well as text, H.J. Hermann, Die Italienischen Handschriften des Dugento und Trecento, 3,



Neapolitanische und Toskanische Handschriften  
der zweiten Hälfte des XIV Jahrhunderts (Leipzig,  
 1930), pp.231-50.

90. Joint cycles of the Passion and the Infancy of Christ illustrate the Office of the Virgin in the Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux, the exquisite manuscript painted by Jean Pucelle. These compositions continued to be used by his successor Jean le Noir whose latest work was the Passion cycle in the Petites Heures of Jean de Berry, Avril, Manuscript Painting..., 1978, pp.13-24, 44-60 and 116-17. Jean le Noir was responsible for the illustration in several devotional books made for ladies of the French royal family. He would have been an appropriate choice for any illumination in the books bought in Paris for the ladies of the Visconti family in the 1360s. A. Hagopian Van Buren 'The Canonical Offices in Renaissance Painting, Part II. More about the Rolin Madonna', Art Bulletin, 60 (1978), p.626, pointed out that devotion portraits of the type shown on f.109v. of Latin 757 were earliest seen in Pucellian manuscripts. In fact it is in the work of another French painter who drew upon the compositions of Pucelle that the most striking similarities with the miniatures of the Passion in Latin 757 occur, the Master of the Parement de Narbonne. There are general similarities

in the type of setting, the containment of the action in a building contiguous with the frames of the miniature from which the front wall has been removed and in some of the compositions, see for example the Flagellation in the Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame, Paris, B.N. n.a.lat.3093, p.197, and in Latin 757 f.254v. Both manuscripts contain the relatively unusual scene of Christ being nailed to the Cross. On both the bas-de-page, p.209, of the Très Belles Heures de Notre Dame and f.79 of Latin 757 the feet of Christ are held in position in the same manner whilst the nail is hammered home. A rope is pulled taut by a soldier whose feet are braced against the end of the cross. In the Way to Calvary on both f.76 of Latin 757 and the same scene of the Parement of Narbonne (compare ill. 11 with M. Meiss, French Painting in the time of Jean de Berry, I, The Late XIVth century and the patronage of the Duke, (London, 1967), II, pl.4) the soldier leading Christ with a rope is shown in rear view and looking back over his shoulder. The figure in Latin 757 is one of those adapted from f.14v. of the Guiron le Courtois, B.N. n.a.fr.5243. Meiss, The Late 14th century..., 1967, p.103 and pl.538, has suggested the source for this figure in the Parement, the fresco of the Way to Calvary by Barna, in the Collegiata, S. Gimignano. This scene, although reversed, provides a much closer

parallel to the miniature in Latin 757. In both miniature and fresco the rope is placed around Christ's neck and another soldier behind him pushes him forward. This miniature is another example of the designer of Latin 757 combining and adapting features from other sources. Rather than showing the dependence of Latin 757 upon a French precedent, the relationship between these manuscripts tends to confirm Meiss's observation that many features of the works attributed to the Master of the Parement result from the attention he paid to recent developments in Italian art (Meiss, The late 14th century..., 1967, pp.120-25) and there was presumably some common model to account for the similarities in these scenes.

91. The Virgin shows her bare breasts, and John his detached head, to Christ.

B. Lane, 'The Symbolic Crucifixion in the Hours of Catherine of Cleves', Oud Holland, 87 (1973), pp.4-26, classified such compositions as a variant of the Double Intercession ultimately derived from the Speculum humanae salvationis Ch.XXXIX. None of the manuscript examples she gave of such compositions illustrated the Office of the Passion. For a discussion of the Speculum miniature see J. Lutz and P. Perdrizet, Speculum humanae salvationis (Mülhausen, 1907-9), I, 297-301.

92. Perhaps this miniature was included simply because of the popularity of the Man of Sorrows as a devotional image.
93. Sometimes these are of a well-established iconography, like the Stigmatisation of St Francis on f.360v. and sometimes have a fresh anecdotal treatment. The miniature of the Birth of the Virgin on f.35lv. shows the newly-delivered Anne, sitting-up in bed, bare-breasted. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, Iconographie de l'enfance de la vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident (Brussels, 1965), II, p.92, wrote that this treatment was rare and not dependent upon an established tradition.

## CONCLUSIONS

Detailed consideration of the books themselves has provided either evidence for or at least arguments in favour of regarding the group of manuscripts central to this study as having been produced in the last two decades of the fourteenth century for various members of the Visconti court. Whilst the illumination of these manuscripts usually seems to have been the consequence of collaboration, the essential characteristics of the style seem to be dependent upon one designing artist. For some groups of miniatures which can be seen to have been painted by two illuminators can also be seen to have been drawn in a single and uniform style. Only in the Tacuinum Sanitatis can the work in the style of Latin 757 be isolated from that of other artists according to the structure of the manuscript. Otherwise it seems that paintings in this style should be regarded as produced within the context of a small workshop where work seems often to have been shared out on the basis of the different processes necessary to bring the decoration and illustration to completion rather than by allocating whole units of the manuscript to individual artists.

No evidence suggests that illuminators worked in conjunction with scribes or stationers and they seem more likely, by analogy with documented examples, to have been in direct contact with the patron or his

agent. It may even be that, like the Ambrosianae for the fabbrica of the cathedral of Milan, the illuminators may have worked on the patron's premises. In these circumstances the painters may have travelled, otherwise it seems likely that this workshop was based in Milan.

The documentary evidence which survives suggests that the book-trade of Pavia was relatively undeveloped at the end of the fourteenth century and in fact the production of luxury books seems to have been in its infancy in Milan, developing perhaps in response to a new, or increased taste for luxury books from members of the Visconti court.

This was not a new taste in Italy as a whole, for the patterns of court culture to which the Visconti were conforming had been established at the court of Robert of Anjou. There were precedents in Neapolitan commissions for the classes of courtly book decorated in the style of Latin 757. There was also the possible influence of the French court through the diplomatic and marriage alliances between the Valois and the Visconti. Closer in time and place were the Gonzaga lords of Mantua whose patronage and collection of books were well established by this date.

Notwithstanding such precedents, the luxury Books of Hours discussed here do comprise the earliest surviving group of such books from Italy and they show every sign of being a novel and especially valued

type of commission in Lombardy at the end of the fourteenth century. It is the type of commission which epitomises both court patronage and manuscript illumination in the style of Latin 757, and it is in other Lombard manuscripts of this type that the antecedant and descendant of the style of Latin 757 can be seen. For although the luxury Books of Hours produced in Milan in the last twenty-five years of the fourteenth century are so varied in their contents, there is a continuity of style from the Hours of Blanche of Savoy to those of the 757 group and on to those attributed to the Master of the Modena Hours. The differences, like those of figure style, are so outweighed by the similarities which relate each style to the next that these manuscripts appear to represent a succession of the products of craftsmen, each of whom has inherited some of the modes and the patronage for such books from his predecessor.

Both the borders and the miniatures of the manuscripts which can be grouped with Latin 757 as the product of one workshop show such a direct debt to the Hours of Blanche of Savoy that it seems likely that they were designed by an artist who had either spent some time working with Giovanni d' Benedetto da Como, or else took over his workshop patterns. The style of Latin 757 appears in turn to have been the

source for many features of the miniatures which have been attributed to the 'Master of the Modena Hours'. This illuminator's dependence upon the style of Latin 757 is modified by the influence of contact with painting by the de' Grassi, the other most influential style of illumination in Milan in the last decade of the fourteenth century. Several manuscripts survive, for example the four-volume Bible from the Certosa di Pavia, Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, AE XIV 24-27, where there is painting attributed to the de' Grassi workshop alongside decoration in the style of the Modena Hours (Latin 842). The agitated angularity of drapery folds, mock kufic inscriptions and the use of fantastic architectural forms as initial staves, which are standard features of illumination attributed to the 'Master of the Modena Hours' may all be the result of such contact with painting from the de' Grassi workshop. Nonetheless, many of the compositions of the Modena and Parma Hours remain those of the style of Latin 757, for example the Betrayal and the Reliquary of the Cross (compare ills 200, 206 and 202 with 8 and 27), and others show the same approach to constructing a miniature, for example the miniatures of the Flagellation (ills 26 and 207) and the Mocking of Christ and the Elevation of the Host (compare ills 209 and 29), in the relation of figures to setting and the whole to the picture field. In addition, both this master's palette, with his preference for clear blond colouring



and his repertoire of individual motifs including, most tellingly, the use of a yellow fabric patterned with eyes, all continue features of the style of Latin 757 (ill. 200). It seems probable that this painter worked or trained in the workshop responsible for the manuscripts which form the central subject of this study.

With the identification of the 'Master of the Modena Hours' as Thomasino Vimercate it is possible that more biographical information may become available. Clarification of his early career could yet reveal the identity of the artist whose draughtsmanship and painting were fundamental to the style of Latin 757, the style whose qualities determined one strand of the amiable and decorative art produced for the Milanese court throughout much of the fifteenth century.

## Appendix I

### THE AMBROSIANAE OF THE CATHEDRAL OF MILAN

The following extracts from the Annali della Fabbrica del Duomo di Milano (Milan, 1877-84), concern the decisions and payments made in respect of a copy of the Milleloquium of St Ambrose. The first was the agreement of 21 March 1406 that, 'ad laudem ipsius gloriosi patroni et honorem huius urbis Mediolani', this work should be copied from an existing example in Pavia. The last was the decision of 11 February 1431 to allow the monks of S. Eustorgio in Milan to borrow the fabbrica's completed volumes in order that they, in turn, might have a copy made.

The Milleloquium of St Ambrose or Ambrosianae was a compilation made by Bartolomeo Caruso, an Augustinian bishop of Urbino between 1347-1350, in which all the essential doctrines of St Ambrose were reduced under a thousand titles arranged in alphabetical order.

The fabbrica book was destined for its own library in the cathedral. This library unlike that of the canons, was open to the public. Both were dispersed by the eighteenth century, M. Magistretti, Due inventari del duomo di Milano del secolo XV (Milan, 1909).

The copy of the Ambrosianae made for the fabbrica between October 1406 and December 1409 has been hitherto unidentified. In fact, the first volume of the cathedral's copy must be ms. CFM 9 of the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (ills 187-191). The extracts from

the teachings of St Ambrose under headings from A-E, ff.7v.-380, are preceded by the dedication of Bartholomeus de Urbino to Pope Clement VI, ff.4-4v., and passages in praise of Saint Ambrose, ff.4v.-7v. A colophon on f.380 gives the date of the completion of the writing as 12 November 1408 and identifies the scribe as Dyonisius de Bregonziis de Soma, a canon of S. Agnese de Soma in the diocese of Milan:

'...hanc primam partem huius sacrosancte Ambrosiane complevit scriptorum minimus Dyonisius de Bregonziis de soma Canonicus Sancte Agnetis de soma dyocensis Mediolanensis Anno domini mcccc<sup>o</sup> octavo mensis Novembris die .xxij. Deo Gratias. Amen. Finita prima parte, sequitur secunda cuius principium est. Faber.'

The opening of the Dedication to Clement VI on f.4 is decorated with a miniature, borders, the arms of Holy Church and, in the centre of the upper margin, a quatrefoil showing the Madonna of Mercy with her mantle spread out over a church with a black and white facade, with small kneeling figures at each side (ill. 187). This is the impresa used by the fabbrica of the cathedral in Milan, even in 1908 where it appears on the title-page of E. Verga's L'archivio della fabbrica del duomo di Milano, Riordinato e descritto dal Dott. E. Verga (Milan, 1908).

It is true that Dyonisius de Bregonziis does not appear in the fabbrica payments for their Ambrosianae but the possibility of this being a second copy made simultaneously for the fabbrica and not mentioned in any of its records can be discounted, once certain

features of the Cambridge manuscript are compared with the recorded payments. F. Wormald and P.M. Giles, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Additional Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum Acquired between 1895 and 1979 (excluding the McClean collection) (Cambridge, 1982), I, pp.16-17, note that on f.144v. the script changes to a taller and closer one which continues to the end. This very obvious change of hand occurs in the middle of a quinternion. This manuscript is composed of thirty-eight regular quinternions, of which the first fourteen are the uniform and continuous work of one hand and the last twenty-three are the uniform and continuous work of another (compare ill. 189 and 190). In the middle of the fifteenth quinternion the second scribe continues work left by the first.

The payment to Petro de Guioldis of 12 July 1407 showed that he was continuing work on the first volume of the Ambrosianae, 'scripturae et exemplaturae primi voluminis, seu primi libri Ambrosianae, quae est in domo ecclesiae fratrum heremitarum civitatis Papiae, per eum incepti et finiendi pro fabrica praedicta'. It seems from this that it was intended that Pietro de Guioldis should write all of the first volume. Another payment to him of 26 September 1409 made the final settlement of his account; in this he is paid for 'quinterniorum 14 cum dimedio in cartis modi majoris, primi scilicet voluminis libre Mirielloqui .... per eum in servitio fabricae supra scriptae ... ex et de quinternis 38 ipsius voluminis...' These

fourteen and a half quinternions of the total of thirty-eight quinternions which comprised that volume correspond with the work of the first scribe on the first 144 folios of the 380 folios of the Cambridge manuscript.

On 31 January 1409, Fazio de Castoldis was paid for the writing of 'quinternorum 23 cum dimedio modi maioris in cartis libri, videlicet seu primi voluminis libri Ambrosianae, scriptorum in Papia nomine et opere ipsius dom. presbyteri Fazii in servizio dictae fabricae...'

Clearly these are the quinternions signed by Dyonisius de Bregonziis in the Cambridge manuscript, Fazio must have engaged him to complete the work left unfinished by Pietro de Guioldis. The payment to Fazio is just two months after the date of the colophon in the Cambridge manuscript.

Furthermore the payment of September 1409 to the miniaturist Anrigino de Taegio for flourish initials and paragraph marks in the first volume of the Ambrosianae specified the number for which he was being paid: 426 red and blue letters and 56 hundred paragraph marks. These correspond to those decorative elements in the Cambridge manuscript.

Apart from the payment of 11 October 1408 against Anrigino's account for 'aminiaturae de pena' the only other payment for painting in the first volume of the Ambrosianae was that of 31 May 1409, for 'adminiature de penello', the customary description for painted initials to

'Thomasinus de Vicomercato, adminiator librorum, portae vercelinae, parochiae S. Nazarii ad petram sanctam.' The only decoration in the Cambridge volume which was not covered by the payments to Anrigino de Taegio were the two miniatures with borders on ff.4 and 4v. (ills 187 and 188), and the five decorated initials on ff.7v. (ill. 189), 131v., 162v., 264v. (ill. 190) and 333v. (ill. 191). These are of a uniform style and must therefore have been the work of Thomasino Vimercate. Compared with the payments made for the painted initials in Paris, B.N. Latin 8028 (half a florin per initial) and the payments the fabbrica made to Salomone de' Grassi for his work on the Beroldus, Milan, Trivulziana, cod. 2622 (1.24 s.16 for twenty-seven initials and the opening page) the 1.7 s.4 paid to Thomasino seems an acceptable amount for the initials in CFM 9. (In 1396 one lira equalled five-eighths of a florin, see Ch.6, n.26).

The identification of the illuminator responsible for the miniatures and initials of the Cambridge Ambrosianae is of particular significance since they have been attributed to the Master of the Modena Hours, A. Radaeli, 'Ancora per il miniatore dell'  $\infty$  R.7.3. dell' Estense', Giornale di Bordo, II, 3-4, December 1968-January 1969, p.113.

This attribution is convincing: the miniatures and initials show the same formal qualities, angular

drapery folds, palette, figure types, border forms and pen-work patterns as those found in the Modena Hours themselves (ills 200-203) and, in the most refined of this Master's work, the Hours of Isabelle of Castile, (ills 204-205). As well as the general similarities and common repertoire of decorative details in these manuscripts some figures are especially close. The treatment of the drapery of the kneeling figure of the Bishop of Urbino on f.4 of CFM 9 is very like that of the kneeling Gabriel on f.13v. of the Hours of Isabelle of Castile (ills 187 and 204). A comparison of the miniatures of St Ambrose on f.4v. of CFM9 (ill. 188) and f.250 of the Modena Hours (ill. 203) confirms the recognition of these manuscripts as the work of the same painter.

With the matching of the Cambridge manuscript with the documentation of the fabbrica's commission the Master of the Modena Hours can be brought from anonymity.

For the manuscripts attributed to the 'Master of the Modena Hours' and the earlier bibliography see Ch.6, n.85 and the following,

A. Radaeli, 'Di uno sconosciuto codice lombardo nella Palatina di Parma e il suo miniatore', Aurea Parma, 48 (1964), pp.245-259, and 'Nuovi contributo al catalogo del miniatore dell'œ R.7.3. dell' Estense di Modena', Giornale di Bordo, II, 2 (1968), pp.65-67, and U. Jenni, 'Eine illustrierte Legenda Maior der Katharina von Siena kurz vor 1400', Codices Manuscripti, 3 (1977), pp.72-82.

Extracts from the Annali della Fabbrica..., 1877-84

21 March 1406

Provisum fuit quod expensis fabricae liber Ambrosianae, seu mirielloquii, beatissimi et gloriosi Patroni nostri domini sancti Ambrosii, existens Papiae in domo fratrum heremitarum Sancti Augustini sita in cittadella papiensi, exempletur quot velocius fieri poterit et commodius pro dicta fabrica in cartis, ut exinde reponi possit in libraria ipsius fabricae ad laudem ipsius gloriosi patroni et honorem hujus urbis Mediolani.

3 October 1406

Attentis ad hoc ut liber ambrosianae seu mireloquii gloriosi confessoris et patroni civitatis hujus Ambrosii, existens Papiae in domo fratrum Sancti Augustini, exempletur et perficiatur, et celeritur hic ad fabricam istam habeatur, electi fuerunt in praesenti consilio domini presbyter Rugerus de Bossiis, Prandus de Cantono, Franciscus de Valle et Beltramolus Amiconus, et quilibet eorum, ad invocandum devotos et bonos cives Mediolani tam religiosos quam laicos cujus vis conditionis et status, ad ex hoc porrigendum manus eorum adjutrices, et pecuniarie subsidium praestandum pro satisfactione expensarum hujusmodi perfectionis libri praedicti, facta prius de praemissis debita notitia reverendissimo Patri domino Cardinali et commendatario ecclesiae mediolanensis, electusque fuit prudens vir Buzius Panigarola offitialis



statutorum Mediolani specialiter ad recipiendum,  
exigendum et exbursandum denarios huiusmodi, quos  
tribui, ut praefertur, et expendi continget, dicta  
occasione.

Annali..., I, p.278

17 February 1407

Mutuo dom. presbytero Fatio de Castoldis benefitiali  
ecclesiae s. Eufemiae, deputato ad fatiendum exemplari  
in domo fratrum heremitarum in Papia, pro fabrica  
praedicta, Ambrosianam, videlicet pro emendo cartas  
pro scriptura ipsius Ambrosianae, secundum ordinem  
inde datum per dom. vicarium provixionis comunis  
Mediolani, Franciscolum Tegniosum et Beltramolum  
Pasqualem legum doctores et advocatos fabricae praedictae,  
l.74 s.2.

10 May 1407

Petro de Guioldis super ratione sua libri Ambrosianae  
per ipsum transcribendi, de quo libro ipse Petrus  
consignavit quaternos sex ad offitium dominorum  
deputatorum et negotiorum gestorum dictae fabricae  
l.6 s.8.

31 May 1407

Henrigino de Tahegio pro ejus solutione andatarum duarum,  
quas fecit a Mediolano Papiam, pro portando a Papia  
Mediolanum unum ex libris Ambrosianae, ibidem transcriptum  
et exemplatum pro fabrica suprascripta, l.1 s.12

Annali..., App.II, p.279

12 July 1407

Mutuo Petro de Guioldis, portae vercellinae, parochiae s. Mariae Pedonis, super ejus ratione scripturae et exemplaturae primi voluminis, seu primi libri Ambrosianae, quae est in domo ecclesiae fratrum heremitarum civitatis Papiae, per eum incepti et finiendi pro fabrica praedicta, secundum ordinem alias datum l.16.

28 July 1407

Angerino Sachellae cartario, pro ejus solutione quinternorum 6 modi majoris cartarum capretorum, per eum factorum ac datorum Petro de Guioldis, deputato ad scribendum et exemplandum primum librum voluminis Ambrosianae, quae est in domo ecclesiae fratrum heremitarum ordinis s. Augustini in civitate Papiae, per eum Petrum inceptum et finiendum pro fabrica praedicta, in quibus quinternis 6 intraverunt cartae 30 capretorum, ad computum cartarum 5 pro quolibet quinterno, l.4, s.17, d.6.

23 September 1407

Mutuo dom. presbytero Fatio de Castoldis beneficiari ecclesiae s. Eufemiae Mediolani, pro resto solutionis libri Ambrosianae, per eum transcripti et finiti et consignati ad officium dom. deputatorum dictae fabricae, et repositi in armorio sito in camera offitii, s.16.

22 December 1407

Mutuo Henrigino de Taegio deputato ad ameniandum  
librum seu libros Ambrosianae nuper transcriptae  
in civitate Papiiae, l.3, s.4.

Annali..., App.II, p.280.

31 March 1408

Anrigino de Taegio, cartario et aminiatore, pro ejus  
solutione et remuneratione salmorum 900, per ipsum  
floriturum super libris Ambrosianae, nuper scriptis  
Papiiae, et modo existentibus penes dom. deputatos et  
negotiorum gestores dictae fabricae, ad computum s.12  
pro quolibet centenario, et pro milliariis 11  
paragrafforum, per ipsum factorum super libris praedictis,  
ad computum s.15 pro quolibet miliari, et pro salmis  
10 magnis similiter per ipsum floritis super ipsis libris  
etc. l.11, s.5.

12 April 1408

Dom presbytero Fatio de Castoldis, benefitiali s.  
Eufemiae Mediolani, pro ejus solutione ameniaturae  
penelli, quam fieri fecit in uno ex libris Ambrosianae  
in salmis 9 fl.1 et pro expensis factis per  
suprascriptum dom. presbyterum fatium eundo Papiam et  
redeundo et stando pro capiendo ordinem de dictis  
libris scribendis, et pro ligatura duorum librorum  
suprascriptae Ambrosianae per ipsum ligatorum etc.  
l.9, s.12.

11 October 1408

Anrigino de Taegio aminiatori super ratione sua  
aminiaturae de pena prima libri Ambrosianae, qui  
inceptum fuit per Petrum Guioldum, etc. l.4.

Annali..., App.II, p.286.

31 January 1409

Dom. presbyter Fazius de Castoldis, benefitialis  
ecclesiae s. Eufemiae Mediolani, pro solutione  
scripturae quinternorum 23 cum dimedio modi maioris  
in cartis libri, videlicet seu primi voluminis libri  
Ambroxianae, scriptorum in Papia nomine et opere  
ipsius dom. presbyteri Fazii in servizio dictae fabricae,  
et ulterius pro solutione quinternorum sex dictarum  
cartarum, etc. l.66.

Annali..., App.II, p.287

30 April 1409

Johanninus de Merate, cartarius et bidellus habitans  
in civitate Papie, pro restitutione totidem denariorum  
per eum expendorum et exbursatorum nomine et in  
servitiis fabricae suprascriptae, pro religatura et  
ordinatura trium voluminum libri Ambrosiane, sive  
Mileloqui s. Ambrosii, existentis in libraria dominorum  
fratrum s. Augustini Papiae, disquaternatorum,  
videlicet ibidem jamdiu pro exemplo eorum transcribendo  
et habendo nomine dictae fabricae, sicut actum est,  
qui numerentur dom. presbytero Fatio de Castoldis,  
etc. l.10, s.16.

Annali..., App.II, p.287-88

31 May 1409

Thomasinus de Vicomercato adminiator librorum, portae vercelinae, parochiae s. Nazarii ad petram sanctam. pro ejus sollutione adminiature de penello per eum factae, suis sumptibus et expensis, super primo volumine libri Ambrosianae sive Milleloqui, nuper transcripti in civitate Papiæ, et nunc existentis ad fabricam superscriptam, causa ipsos reponendi in libraria fabricae praedictae fienda, mercato facto per dom. deputatos et negotiorum gestores ipsius fabricae, etc. l.7, s.4.

31 August 1409

Dom. presbyter Fatius de Castoldis, benefitialis ecclesiae s. Eufemiae Mediolani, pro restitutione totidem denariorum, per eum expendorum in servitio fabricae suprascriptae, et exbursatorum ac numeratorum Guifredino seu Manfredino de Cugnolo, scriptori in civitate Papiæ, pro remuneratione et solutione mercedis ejus transcribendi in cartis modi majoris quinternos 26 tertii voluminis libri Ambrosianae, seu Miri elloqui gloriosi confessoris et patroni Mediolani dom. s. Ambrosii, per eum Manfredinum ad instantiam ejus dom. presbyteri Fatii transcriptorum et exemplatorum pro fabrica praedicta in domo dominorum fratrum heremitarum s. Augustini Papiæ, ubi et in qua domo liber praedictus aderat, etc., ad computam soldorum 24 imp. pro quolibet dictorum quinternorum. Item pro solutione pretii cartarum 130 capretorum quae intraverunt in dictis 26 quinternis. Item pro solutione expensarum per ipsum

dom. presbyterum Fatium ista causa in servitio  
 jamdictae fabricae factarum in Papia. Et hoc etiam  
 ultra remunerationem seu solutionem mercedis ipsius  
 dom. presbyteri Fatii ligaturae ipsius tertii  
 voluminis et secundi per eum ligatorum et inquaternorum,  
 et exinde datorum et consignatorum praedictis dom.  
 deputatis et negotiorum gestoribus, etc. l.60.

26 September 1409

Arighinus de Taegio, adminiator et scriptor literarum  
 magnarum de colore, pro ejus solutione et mercede  
 miniandi et scribendi super primo libro Ambrosianae,  
 sive Miri elloquii s. Ambrosii, de novo scripto et  
 facto nomine fabricae ecclesiae s. Mariae majoris  
 Mediolani, de rubeo et azurro literas 426, ad computum  
 s.12 imp. pro quolibet centario, mercato cum eo facto  
 per dom. deputatos et negotiorum gestores fabricae  
 praedictae, et miniandi et scribendi ut supra cent. 56  
 paragraforum, ad comp. s.1 d.6 pro quolibet centario,  
 l.6 s.15.

Petrus de Guioldis, civis et scriptor Mediolani, pro  
 solutione mercedis suae scripturae quinternorum 14 cum  
 dimedio in cartis modi majoris, primi scilicet voluminis  
 libri Mirielloquii seu Ambrosianae gloriosi confessoris  
 s. Ambrosii, per eum in servitio fabricae suprascriptae  
 scriptorum in Papia in domo dominorum fratrum  
 heremitarum s. Augustini, ex et de quinternis 38 ipsius  
 voluminis, ad computum librar.2 s.8 imp. pro quolibet  
 quinterno etc. l.34 s.16.

9 October 1409

Jacobinus de Montano, faber, pro ejus solutione folleorum 30 auri batuti, dati et consignati dom. presbytero Fatio de Castoldis, benefitiali ecclesiae s. Eufemiae, pro aureando cartas seu fatiem cartarum primi libri Ambrosianae, nuper scripti in civitate Papiae, et nunc penes suprascriptum dom. presbyterum Fatium existentis, ad computum etc. l.1 s.5.

31 December 1409

Dom presbyter Fatius de Castoldis, benefitialis ecclesiae s. Eufemiae Mediolani, pro restitutione totidem denariorum per ipsum expendorum in fatiando acamusare cartas libri seu librorum Ambrosianae fabricae suprascriptae de foris, videlicet quae aparent de foris seu extra assides, de auro, ut per intuentes videri potest. s.16.

Annali..., App. II, p. 293

11 February 1431

Sull'istanza fatta da frate Marco de' Capitanei di Vicomercato, maestro di sacra teologia, dell'ordine dei predicatori di s. Eustorgio, anche a nome dei frati del suo convento, di poter avere, per farne far copia, il libro esistente nella biblioteca della fabbrica, denominato Milleloquio di s. Ambrogio, deliberarono di concederlo, a patto che venga costituito un pegno sufficiente, onde la fabbrica sia sicura della restituzione.

Annali..., II, p. 59

Appendix II

ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOURS OF THE VIRGIN IN LOMBARD BOOKS OF HOURS

Hours of the Virgin	Munich Staatsbibl. Latin 23215	Modena Bibl. Estense Latin 862	Paris, B.N. Latin 757
Matins	Annunciation	Annunciation and Nativity	Betrayal
Lauds	-		-
Prime	Expulsion of Joachim		Christ before Pilate
Tierce	Joachim and the Shepherds		Way to Calvary
Sext	Annunciation to Joachim		Nailing to the Cross
None	Meeting at the Golden Gate		Crucifixion
Vespers	Birth of the Virgin		Lamentation
Compline	-		Entombment
		Unfinished	



## ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOURS OF THE VIRGIN IN LOMBARD BOOKS OF HOURS

Hours of the Virgin	Visconti Hours, Florence Bibl. Naz. Landau Finaly 22	Paris, B.N. Smith-Lesouéf 22
Matins	Nativity and God the Father with the Fall of the Rebel Angels	Devotional Miniature
Lauds	Adoration of the Magi and Creation	Flagellation
Prime	Flight into Egypt and Separation of the Firmament and Water	Christ before Pilate
Tierce	Massacre of the Innocents and Separation of Land from Water	Way to Calvary
Sext	Annunciation of the Virgin and the Death of the Virgin (Belbello)	Nailing to the Cross
None	Death of the Virgin and Creation of Sun, Moon and Stars	Crucifixion
Vespers	Funeral of the Virgin and Creation of Birds	Deposition
Compline	Creation of Eve and God in Majesty	Entombment

## ILLUSTRATIONS TO THE HOURS OF THE VIRGIN IN LOMBARD BOOKS OF HOURS

Hours of the Virgin	Modena, Bibl. Estense Latin 842	The Hague, Roy. Lib. 76 F.6	Parma, Bibl. Palatina 56
Matins	Nativity	Annunciation and Visitation	-
Lauds	-	Adoration of the Child by Mary and Joseph	-
Prime	Adoration of the Magi	-	-
Tierce	Resurrection	-	-
Sext	Ascension	-	-
None	Pentecost	-	-
Vespers	Death of the Virgin	-	-
Compline	Assumption of the Virgin	-	-
	Initials only	Unfinished	

### Appendix III

Catalogue of manuscripts painted in a style related  
to that of Latin 757

London, B.L. Harley 2532

Modena, Bibl. Estense  $\alpha$ s.2.31 (Latin 862)

Munich, Staatsbibl. Latin 23215

Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Canon. Class. Lat.68

Paris, B.N. fr.343

Latin 757

Latin 7323

Latin 8042

Latin 8043

Latin 8045

n.a.fr.5243

n.a.lat.1673

Smith-Lesouëf 22

None of these manuscripts are evenly trimmed and  
the measurements given are to the nearest 5mm.

The diagrams show the page lay-out of a recto of  
text of each manuscript and are drawn to a scale  
1:5.

London, British Library, Harley 2532

### Contents

2 paper + 65ff. + 2 paper

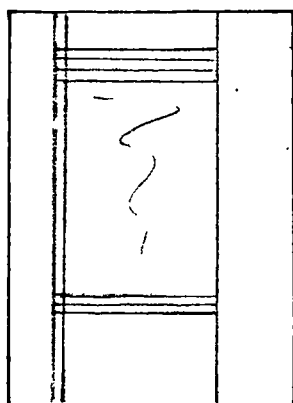
ff.1-65 5 books of Lucan, Pharsalia

f.65v. various inscriptions

### Measurements

Approximately, 255mm x 185mm with a text justification of 175mm x 105mm.

### Rulings



3 verticals variably ruled,  
sometimes not visible. 30  
lines of text on 31  
horizontal of faint yellow-  
brown ink.

### Prickings

Not visible.

### Script

Small littera bastarda (?) in brown ink, apparently one hand. Red two-line-high initials and paragraph marks. Cursive headings across page opening in brown ink, liber primus etc. Two lines of added text f.60v.

### Parchment

This is variable but usually quite stiff with distinct follicle marks on most hair sides.

Composition

1<sup>8</sup> (1-8), 2<sup>8</sup> (9-16), 3<sup>8</sup> (17-24), 4<sup>8</sup> (25-32), 5<sup>8</sup> (33-40),  
 6<sup>8</sup> (41-48), 7<sup>8</sup> (49-56), 8<sup>9</sup> (57-65)? Folio 65 seems  
 likely to be continuous with the stub which is  
 visible between ff.56v. and 57. Strings are visible  
 between the middle two folios of each quaternion  
 and between ff.60 and 61 of the final gathering.

Catchwords

These are in the centre of the lower margin of the  
 last verso of each gathering until f.56v. and then  
 additionally on ff.61v. and 64v. These all appear  
 as the first word on the next recto.

Signatures

None.

Provenance

On f.65 below the text 'Franciscus sfortias vicecomese'  
 is written over an erasure. There are many inscriptions  
 on f.65v. including several which begin 'Ego qui totu  
 vicicertomini(?)...' one is a humanist script 'Antonio  
 pochino che sta in favalia'.

Decoration and illustration

Each book opens with a historiated or foliate initial,  
 ff.1, 12v., 25, 37v., 51v. Folio 1 has two initials  
 and a full border. All historiated initials contain  
 a half-length profile figure. One initial on f.1 and  
 the initial on f.12v. are foliate. The initial staves

are pink against an azurite ground, except for the larger initial on f.1 which has a ground of burnished gold, and the infills are yellow. Figures are simply drawn in brown ink, coloured with thin washes including orange for flesh shadows. Initial terminals are foliage forms of pink, red, green and blue. There is white decoration as an outline at one edge of each leaf etc. and a frequent use of white circles surrounded by four dots. The leaves are modelled with a darker glaze. Folio 1 is very dirty, altered and damaged and the border is cut at the top edge.

This painting is very close to that in Oxford, Canon. Class. Latin 68 and Paris, B.N. Latin 8042.

#### Bibliography

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.365.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, pp.75-76.

Modena, Biblioteca Estense,  $\alpha$  S.2.31 (Latin 862)

### Contents

4 paper + 110ff. + 3 paper

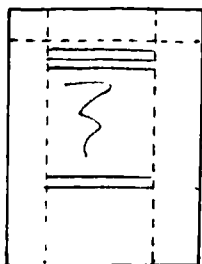
### Folios

1-12v.	Calendar
13-18	Gospel extracts
21v.-22	Double-spread miniature of the Annunciation
23-77	Office of the Virgin according to the use of S. Ambrose with a miniature on f.37v.
77-78v.	Added prayers
79-82	Office of the Cross
82v.-87v.	Office of the Holy Ghost
88-98v.,	Seven Penitential Psalms
98v.-103v.	Litany
104-107v.	Mass of Sta Marie
108-110v.	'O Intemerata...'
Blank folios: 18v.-20v., 21, 22v., 37, 48-48v., 53v., 63-63v., 71v.	

### Measurements

Approximately 165mm x 125mm with a text justification  
of 100mm x 70mm for ff.13-18 and 79-110v. and of  
95mm x 70mm for ff.23-77.

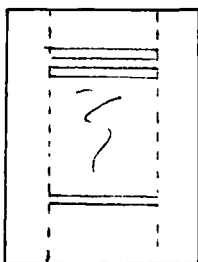
### Rulings



recto

Office of the Virgin

Upper horizontal, and 2 verticals are scored or very faint if visible at all, 15 horizontals ruled in pale beige ink for 15 lines of text.



recto

ff.13-18 and 79-110

2 scored verticals and 17 horizontals ruled in faint brown ink for 16 lines of text.

### Prickings

These are not generally visible but those for drawing the miniature frame can be seen on f.22 and there are possible points for ruling the diapered ground of the miniature on f.37.

### Script

Littera formata in black or brown ink for all texts except ff.77v.-78v. which is in an irregular cursive.



The Hours of the Virgin are signed, on f.77, by Alberto de Porcellis 'Ego mag(ist)e(r) Albertolus de porcelis, s(cri)psi civitatis mediolani porte cumane MCCCCLXXXIII.' There seem to be four main scribes, (gatherings 1-2), (gathering 3), (gatherings 5-11), (gatherings 12-15). Gathering 11 includes the added prayers on ff.77v.-78v. and gathering 15 includes on ff.108-110v. 'O Intemerata...'.

### Parchment

All quite worn. All folios, except for the Calendar gatherings, are quite fine and flexible with slightly rough hair-sides but few follicle marks. The calendar folios have darker hair-sides and patches of dark follicle marks.

### Composition

1<sup>b</sup>(1-6), 2<sup>b</sup>(7-12), 3<sup>g</sup>(13-20), 4<sup>2</sup>(21-22), 5<sup>g</sup>(23-30), 6<sup>g</sup>(31-38) 38, now detached, 7<sup>g</sup>(39-46), 8<sup>g</sup>(47-54), 9<sup>g</sup>(55-62), 10<sup>g</sup>(63-70), 11<sup>g</sup>(71-78), 12<sup>c</sup>(79-88), 13<sup>g</sup>(89-96), 14<sup>g</sup>(97-104), 15<sup>b</sup>(105-110).

### Catchwords

These are placed in the centre of the lower margin of ff.30v., 38v., 46v., 54v., 62v., 70v., 88v., 96v. and 104v.

### Signatures

None survive uncut but there are traces of cut brown signature marks in the bottom right corner of f.33.

### Provenance

The oldest arms seem to be the monogram of Christ on a dark red ground on ff.23 and 37 but it is not certain whether or not they are original. Several prayers are specifically for a couple, eg. f.67v. The arms of the later owner, a cleric portrayed on f.72, an outstretched eagle above a hand are also unidentified. The manuscript entered the Biblioteca Estense in the nineteenth century.

### Decoration and illustration (ills 83-93)

There are one-line-high initials of burnished gold against a ground of blue and dark pink used as text capitals throughout the Offices. The Gospel extracts open with three-line-high initials of blue or red with contrasting flourishes of both red and lilac. Otherwise new texts open with three-line-high painted initials with sprays into the margins. New devotions open with historiated initials, those in the Office of the Virgin on ff.23, 43, 49, 54, 59, 64, 72 are eight lines high, those on ff.79, 82v. and 108 are four lines high and that on f.88 is five lines high. There are full-page miniatures on ff.21v., 22 and 37v. There is additional painting on f.1 where two angels support a coat-of-arms and on f.38 two angels hold a scroll. There were two campaigns of painting to complete this manuscript, see pp.95 and 99-101 for a description and discussion of the illumination of this manuscript.

Bibliography

Toesca, Monumenti..., 1930, p.36.

Arte lombarda..., 1958, pp.26-27.

Arslan, 'Aspetti...', 1964, pp.40-41.

Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', 1965, p.68.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, p.72.

Fava and Salmi, I manoscritti..., 1973, pp.13-14.

Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Latin 23215

Contents

2 paper + 242ff. + 2 paper

Folio(s)

- |             |   |
|-------------|---|
| 1v.         | 'Johan(n)es filius mag(ist)ri benedicti<br>de cumis me pinxit et ordinavit. Ora<br>voce pro me Virgo Maria'                                       |
| 2-7v.       | Calendar  |
| 8v.-58      | Office of the Virgin according to the<br>use of Rome, with miniatures on folios<br>8v., 26v., 33v., 37v., 39v., 44v.                              |
| 58v.-64v.   | Prayers including 'Obsecro te...' where<br>Blanche is named.  |
| 65v.-134    | Propers for the Office of the Virgin<br>with miniatures on folios 65v., 72v., 75v., 88v.,<br>103v., 111v., 116, 120v., 121v., 123,<br>126v., 128. |
| 134v.-169v. | Office of the Cross with miniatures on<br>folios 134v., 143v., 144, 148v., 152v.,<br>156v., 160v., 165v., 170v.                                   |
| 170v.-212   | Office of the Dead with miniatures on<br>folios 170v., 178v., 201v.   |
| 212-214     | Prayer for the soul of Galeazzo II  |
| 214v.-224   | Seven Penitential Psalms with a miniature<br>on folio 214v.   |
| 225v.       | Miniature of the Ascension  |
| 226v.-236   | Litany with miniatures on 226v., 228v.  |

236v.-241v. Prayers with a miniature on f.237v.

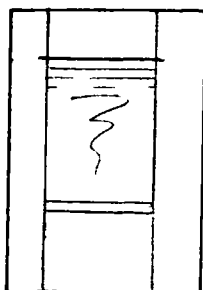
242 Miniature of Pentecost

Blank folios: 1, 8, 26, 33, 39, 44, 52v., 61v., 65,  
75, 88, 103, 111, 116v., 120, 121,  
123v., 126, 128v., 143v., 144, 147v.,  
148, 152, 155v., 156, 159v., 160,  
165, 170, 178, 201, 224v., 225, 226,  
228, 237.

### Measurements

Approximately 185mm x 125mm with a text justification of 100mm x 70mm for folios 9-109 and 105mm x 70mm for folios 110 to end. Miniatures, other than ff.8v. and 65v., are within the area of the text justification.

### Rulings



Text rulings of two verticals and 19 horizontals for 18 lines of text are ruled in a faint ink, sometimes grey and sometimes a yellow-brown. On f.52v. where the miniature was never painted 3 lines were ruled within the justification for the frame and also below the justification for the decorative panel. See f.4v. (ill. 113) for the ruling pattern of the English calendar.

### Prickings

None are usually visible for the text. There are pricked holes above each miniature which do not relate to the ruling.

### Script

The Calendar is written in an English littera textualis gothica in black ink with the feasts in red and blue.

The script of the main text is a characteristic Italian formal gothic book-hand in black to brown ink and seems the work of one scribe. There are however obvious additions to this, also in a littera formata on

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| ff.58v.-64v. | Prayers including 'Obsecro te...'   |
| f.72         | Symbol of the Virginity of Christ   |
| ff.130-134   | Three psalms to be said on Tuesday and Friday and three to be said on Wednesday and Saturday. This is the same hand as ff.58v.-64v.   |
| ff.212-214   | Prayer for the soul of Galeazzo Visconti. This is the same hand as f.72.  |
| ff.241-241v. | Prayer 'Omnipotens sempiterne et misericors deus' in which Blanche asks for concessions for herself and her son Giangaleazzo. This is written in an uncontrolled <u>littera formata</u> . |

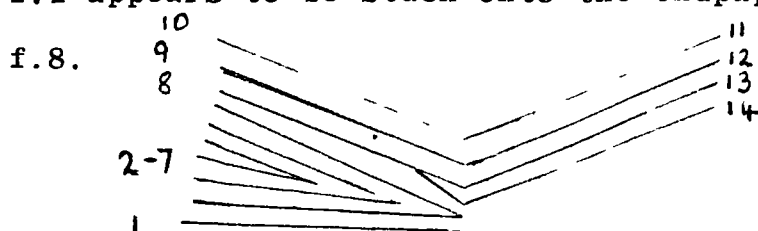
There are also marginal additions on ff.19 and 238v.

### Parchment

The calendar gathering is of soft, flexible parchment, rough on both sides. The rest of the manuscript is of quite stiff parchment of a uniform cream colour with unevenly scattered grey follicles on the hair side.

### Composition

The calendar gathering appears to have been inserted between the first and second folio (now ff.1 and 8) of a quaternion. Folios 1 and 14 are no longer conjoint, f.1 appears to be stuck onto the endpaper and f.14 onto



The manuscript is made up of 27 regular quaternions, a bifolio (133-134) and a final binion to which many single folios have been inserted to carry illustrations and texts additional to those planned by the scribe. 1 (1-14), 2<sup>8</sup> (15-22), 3<sup>8</sup> (23-30), 4<sup>8</sup> (31-38), 5<sup>8</sup> (39-46), 6<sup>8</sup> (47-54), 7<sup>11</sup> (55-65, f.61 is inserted as are ff.64-65 which was probably a folded bifolio), 8<sup>9</sup> (66-74, of which f.72 is inserted), 9<sup>9</sup> (75-83, f.75 inserted), 10<sup>9</sup> (84-92, f.88 inserted), 11<sup>8</sup> (93-100), 12<sup>9</sup> (101-109, f.103 inserted), 13<sup>11</sup> (110-120, ff.111, 116 and 120 inserted), 14<sup>12</sup> (121-132, ff.121, 123, 126, 128 inserted), 15<sup>2</sup> (a bifolio ff.133-134 which carries the end of Propers for the Office of the Virgin which is sewn in with, but distinct from, gatherings 14 and 16),

16<sup>8</sup>(135-142), 17<sup>8</sup>(143-150), 18<sup>8</sup>(151-158), 19<sup>8</sup>(159-166), 20<sup>8</sup>(167-174), 21<sup>9</sup>(175-183, f.178 is inserted), 22<sup>8</sup>(184-191), 23<sup>8</sup>(192-199), 24<sup>9</sup>(200-208, f.201 inserted), 25<sup>9</sup>(209-217, f.214 inserted), 26<sup>10</sup>(218-227, ff. 225 and 226 inserted), 27<sup>9</sup>(228-236, f.228 inserted), 28<sup>5</sup>(237-242, ff.237 and 242 inserted, but not a bifolio).

#### Catchwords

Catchwords are placed in the centre of the lower margin of the following folios: 14v., 22v., 38v., 46v., 54v., 74v., 83v., 92v., 100v., 109v., 119v., 142v., 150v., 158v., 166v., 174v., 183v., 191v., 208v., 217v., 228v., and 236v.

#### Signatures

None remain.

#### Provenance

The arms and devices throughout the decoration of this manuscript are those of Galeazzo II Visconti and his wife Blanche of Savoy. It was for Blanche of Savoy that the prayers on ff.58v.-64v., 212-214 and 241-241v. were added. The manuscript was acquired by the Staatsbibliothek in 1824.

#### Decoration and illustration (ills 113-159)

One -line-high initials of blue with red flourishes or gold with lilac flourishes alternate throughout the text. There are line-endings of painted foliage or decorative forms against a burnished gold ground. Each text element, hymn, prayer etc., opens with a painted



foliate initial, usually three lines high with sprays into the margin which form a three-sided border. Each new devotion opens with a large initial, sometimes historiated with a half-length saint or prophet, sometimes containing the arms or emblems of the owner, occasionally just foliate. These are usually five lines high and a full-border springs from them, ff.9, 16v., 27, 34, 38, 40, 45, 53, 66, 73v., 78v., 89, 96, 100v., 105, 108v., 113v., 124, 130, 135, 140, 145, 149, 153, 157, 161, 166, 171, 179, 180v., 202, 215, 227. The first initial of a new Office may be larger, that opening Matins of the Office of the Virgin, for example, is ten lines high. There is a diagram of the symbol of the Virginity of Christ on f.72 and the manuscript contains thirty-five miniatures. For a description and discussion of the illumination in this manuscript see pp.116-131 and pp.150-154.

#### Bibliography

Boll, 'Photographische...', 1902, p.239.

Arte lombarda..., 1958, pp.25-26

Arslan, 'Aspetti...', 1964, pp.38-40.

Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', 1965, pp.67-70.

Toesca, La pittura..., 1966, pp.129-31.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, p.72.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon. Class. Latin 68

### Contents

1 paper + 117ff. + 1 paper

ff.1-116 Lucan, Pharsalia

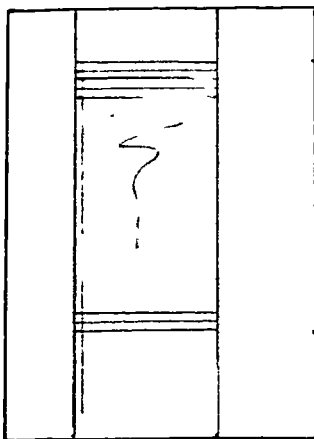
f.116v. blank but for inscriptions (see below)

f.117r. and v. an added folio with the deed of sale  
for a property of Francischina de Sachis,  
dated 14 May 1386, Pavia.

### Measurements

Approximately, 280mm x 200mm with a text justification  
of 175mm x 95mm.

### Rulings



3 verticals varying from  
scored to metalpoint to  
brown ink. 39 lines of  
text on 40 horizontals of  
pale brown ink.

### Prickings

Short slits for the outer two verticals are visible  
top and bottom of most folios.

Script

Small littera bastarda in dark brown or black ink.

Folios 105-109 and 112 r. and v. are in a less controlled hand.

Red two-line-high painted initials and paragraph marks.

Folios 117r. and v. are written in a cursive hand in brown ink.

Parchment

This is rather stiff and varied in colour. The hair side is yellower than the flesh side and has patches of follicle marks.

Repairs to outer margin on ff.10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 33-48, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114 and 115.

Composition

1<sup>8</sup>(1-8), 2<sup>8</sup>(9-16), 3<sup>8</sup>(17-24), 4<sup>8</sup>(25-32), 5<sup>8</sup>(33-40), 6<sup>8</sup>(41-48), 7<sup>8</sup>(49-56), 8<sup>8</sup>(57-64), 9<sup>8</sup>(65-72), 10<sup>8</sup>(73-80), 11<sup>8</sup>(81-88), 12<sup>8</sup>(89-96), 13<sup>8</sup>(97-104), 14<sup>8</sup>(105-112), 15<sup>4</sup>(113-116), 16<sup>1</sup>(117). Folio 117 is continuous with a stub which appears between 112v. and 113. Strings are always visible between the two middle folios of each gathering.

Catchwords

These are placed in the centre of the bottom margin of the last verso of each gathering except for f.112v. They all appear as the first word of the next recto except for that on f.104v: this is because gathering 14 is disordered.

### Signatures

Usually traces show in the bottom right-hand corner of the first four rectos of a gathering. The fifth recto is marked with a cross. The gatherings are lettered regularly up to and including gathering 13. Gathering 14 has no initial letter but ff.105, 106, 107 and 108 are respectively numbered iiii, i, ii, iii.

### Provenance

A damaged coat of arms on f.1 overlaps the border decoration.

An inscription on f.lv. reads 'Libro donato dal Sig. Conte Pirro de Capitany'.

There are two erased inscriptions on f.116v., parts of the uppermost are legible 'Iste lucanus... est dm Angeli Carasi...'. The name is itself an alteration.

### Decoration and illustration

Each book opens with a decorated initial between four and ten lines high, ff.1, 11, 23v., 32, 44, 55v., 67v., 80, 92v., 105v. Folio 1 has two historiated initials and a full border all the other initials are foliate. On f.1 the initials have pink staves against a burnished gold ground with an infill patterned red or green. The profile figures are drawn in brown ink. The only modelling of the flesh is an orange wash applied to show shadows. All pigment on the figures is thinly applied and they are poorly and schematically drawn. In contrast the acanthus-leaf forms of the border are

more carefully painted and more confidently drawn. The leaves are dark green, orange-red, mid-blue and pink. A darker glaze models the leaves and there is white pen-work decoration. In the lower margin the leaves form two sworls with small gold infills on a salmon pink bole. Gold disks with spiky black outlines are scattered in all margins. Much paint and gold is lost and there is discolouration where the red and white lead has oxidised.

The other foliate initials are made up of the same forms as those on f.1 but a fake gold replaces the burnished gold.

All this decoration is close to that found in the following copies of Lucan, London, B.L. Harley 2532; Madrid, Bibl. Nac. 601; Paris, B.N. Latin 8042 and 8043.

#### Bibliography

Pächt and Alexander, The Illuminated Manuscripts..., 1970, II, p.19 and pl.XVIII.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, p.76.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, français 343<sub>5</sub>

### Contents

1 + 112ff. + 1

three fragments

ff.1-104v. Queste du Saint Graal

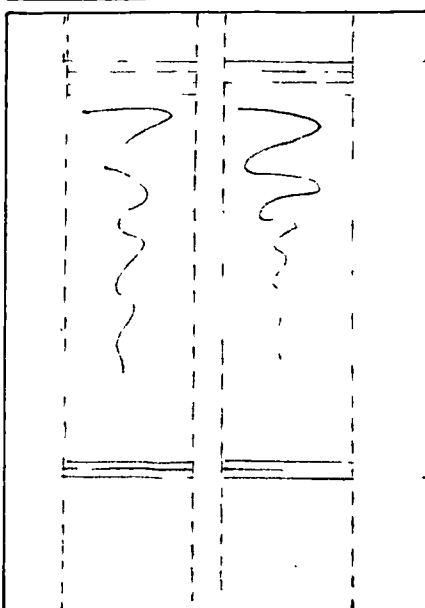
ff.105-112 la Mort Artu

f.113 blank recto and verso but for sketches and notes

### Measurements

Approximately, 390mm x 275mm with a text justification, on a page with no illustration, of 270mm x 190mm.

### Rulings



4 verticals scored but with occasional traces of grey or brown. 56 horizontals in faint beige ink for 55 lines of text in 2 columns.

### Prickings

Short cuts for verticals are sometimes visible at the top of a folio.

### Script

Littera formata in dark brown ink. Some flourishes, cadels, into the margin.

Parchment

This is variable, often stiff with an irregular distribution of obvious follicle marks on the hair side.

Composition

1<sup>8</sup> (1-8), 2<sup>8</sup> (9-16), 3<sup>8</sup> (17-24), 4<sup>8</sup> (25-32), 5<sup>8</sup> (33-40),  
6<sup>8</sup> (41-48), 7<sup>8</sup> (49-56), 8<sup>8</sup> (57-64), 9<sup>8</sup> (65-72), 10<sup>8</sup> (73-80),  
11<sup>8</sup> (81-88), 12<sup>8</sup> (89-96), 13<sup>8</sup> (97-104), 14<sup>8</sup> (105-112) + 1.

Catchwords

These are placed in the centre of the lower margin of the final verso of a gathering. They are often worn and illegible or cut. It seems possible that there are lacunae after ff.32 and 104.

Signatures

Signature marks survive in the bottom right hand corner of f.60, i1111<sup>o</sup> and f.81, mi. These are in the eighth and eleventh gatherings and suggest that only one gathering before that point is missing.

Provenance

These quaternions were item 908 of the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library in the Castello di Pavia. Amongst the notes etc. on f.113v. is the monogram of Galeazzo Maria Sforza. On f.112v. is the customary note 'Pavye au Roy Loys XII<sup>e</sup> showing the manuscript was amongst those transferred to Blois by Louis XII in 1499.

Decoration and illustration (ills 94-109)

Both illustration and decoration were left incomplete. Two-line-high initials of blue or gold with contrasting flourishes of red or lilac introduce each paragraph in gatherings 2 and 3. Each chapter was to open with a painted foliate initial between nine and thirteen lines high. These were painted on ff.9v., 13v. and 16 and drawn on ff.17, 18 and 21. Folio 1 was to have a historiated initial with a full border. This was only drawn.

The scribe left spaces for illustrations. These may be the width of either one or both columns and be at the top, bottom, or in the middle of the text justification. Wherever such a space was left an illustration has been at least drawn, more than half have been painted. There are painted illustrations on ff.1, 1v., 2, 3, 3v., 4, 4v., 6, 7, 8, 8v., 9, 10, 10v., 11v., 12, 13, 13v., 14, 15v., 17, 17v., 18, 19, 21v., 23v., 24, 25v., 26v., 27, 27v., 28v., 29, 30v., 31v., 32, 32v., 33, 33v., 34, 34v., 35, 35v., 36, 36v., 37, 39, 40v., 42, 43, 43v., 44v., 45, 47, 47v., 48, 48v., 49v., 50, 56, 56v., 58, 59, 59v., 61v., 62v., 63, 63v., 64, 64v., 72v., 81, 81v., 86v., 87v., 106, 111v., and 112v.

There are drawn illustrations on ff.65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 70v., 71v., 73, 73v., 75v., 76, 76v., 77v., 79, 80v., 83v., 84, 84v., 85v., 89, 89v., 91, 92, 92v., 93v., 94v., 96v., 97, 97v., 99v., 100v., 101v., 103, 103v., 104v., 107, 109, 110, 110v., 111 (part of the building is painted) and 112.



For a discussion of the illumination of this manuscript see pp.101-110 and 200-206.

Bibliography

See 'Dix siècles...', 1984, p.98.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 757

Folio(s)

1-3	Contents list
4	Armorial bearings of Julien Regin
4v.-5v.	Table for computing Easter, 1380-1520
6-8v.	Lunar tables, for Italy, 1395-1400
9v.	Armorial bearings of Anne Regin
10v.-22	Calendar
24-56v.	Abbreviated Hours for the Days of the Week, with miniatures of the Creation on ff.24, 28, 37, 41, 45, 49 and 53
57v.-94	Office of the Virgin according to the use of Rome, with miniatures of the Passion of Christ on ff.57v., 72v., 76, 79, 82, 85 and 91
94-109	Propers for the Office of the Virgin, including 'O Intemerata' ff.107-109
109v.	Miniature of the Virgin and Child with patron
110-112v.	Seven Joys of the Virgin
114v.	Miniature of the Burial of a Bishop
115v.-146v.	Office of the Dead
147	Miniature of David and the Ark of the Covenant
148-154v.	Seven Penitential Psalms
155	Miniature of the Grand Litany of St Gregory
156-161v.	Litany

- 162 Miniature of the Judgement
- 163-185 Office of the Passion
- 185v.-224 Extracts from the Gospels on the  
Passion of Christ, miniatures of the  
Evangelists on ff.185v., 197v., 206v.  
and 216v.
- 224v. Miniature of St Ambrose baptising  
St Augustine
- 225-229 Prayers of St Augustine
- 229v.-261v. Masses for the Days of the Week with  
introductory miniatures  
f.229v. Trinity  
f.237 Man of Sorrows  
f.241v. Holy Spirit  
f.245v. Coronation of the Virgin  
f.250 Last Supper  
f.254v. Flagellation  
f.258 Madonna della Misericordia
- 262v. Miniature of the Elevation of the Host
- 263-276 Ordinary of the Mass according to the  
use of Rome
- 276v. Miniature of the Crucified Christ with the  
Virgin and St John the Evangelist
- 277-283 Canon of the Mass
- 283v.-366v. Masses from the Temporal and Sanctoral  
arranged according to the Calendar, with  
introductory miniatures  
f.283v. Nativity  
f.286v. Stoning of St Stephen

- f.289v. St John the Evangelist  
drinking poison
- f.291v. Circumcision of Christ
- f.293v. Adoration of Magi
- f.296v. Temptation of St Anthony
- f.298 Martyrdom of St Agnes
- f.299v. Presentation in the Temple
- f.302v. Annunciation
- f.305v. Temptation of Christ
- f.309 Transfiguration
- f.312 Casting out of Devil
- f.315v. Feeding the 5,000
- f.318v. Raising of Lazarus
- f.322 Entry into Jerusalem
- f.325 Resurrection
- f.327v. St George and the Dragon
- f.329 Elevation of the Host
- f.331v. Ascension
- f.334v. Pentecost
- f.337v. Birth of St John the Baptist
- f.340v. Fall of Simon Magus
- f.343v. Magdalene receiving the Host
- f.347 Martyrdom of St Lawrence
- f.349 Assumption of the Virgin
- f.351v. Birth of the Virgin
- f.355 Invention of the Cross
- f.357v. St Michael and the Dragon
- f.360v. Stigmatisation of St Francis
- f.362v. Attempted martyrdom of St  
Catherine

	f.363v.	St Nicholas giving gold
	f.364v.	Doubting Thomas
367-383		Masses from the Common of Saints with introductory miniatures
	f.367	Calling of St Peter
	f.369v.	Martyrdom of a Saint
	f.372	Beheading of several Saints
	f.374v.	Enthroned Bishop Saint
	f.377	St Jerome
	f.380	St Ursula and her Virgins
383v.-396v.		Office of St John the Baptist
396v.-410v.		Office of St Nicholas
410v.-424v.		Office of St Anthony
424v.-434v.		Office of St Catherine
434v.-436v.		'Obsecro te'
436v.-439		Prayer on the Seven Last Words
439v.		Miniature of the Baptism of Christ
440-44		Exorcism of Salt and Water
442-447		'Ordo ad catecuminum faciendum'
447-447v.		'Ordo ad incidendum capillum infantium'
447v.-450v.		Benedictions
Blank folios:	9, 10, 22v., 23, 23v., 24v., 28v., 37v., 41v., 45v., 49v., 53v., 57, 72, 75v., 76v., 79v., 82v., 85v., 91v., 105v., 106v., 113, 113v., 114, 115, 147v., 155v., 162v. and 262.	

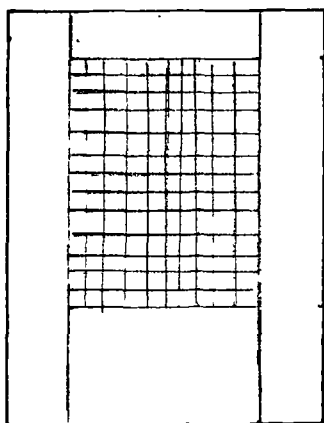
Folio numbers given here refer to modern foliation,  
1-450, in black ink on the upper right corner of each

recto. Early foliation was in blue painted roman numerals in the centre of the upper margin of each folio, I-CCCCXLIII (ff.1-3 and 6-9 are not included in the roman foliation).

### Measurements

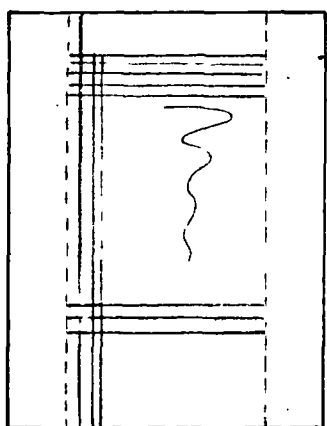
Approximately, 265mm x 205mm, with a text justification of 175mm x 130mm. Miniatures are usually the width of the text justification and between 150 and 180mm high. The Creation miniatures are 178mm in diameter.

### Rulings



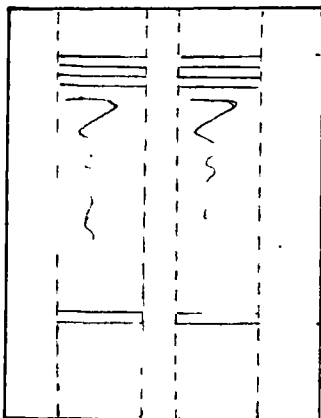
recto of Easter table

2 full-length verticals,  
14 horizontals and 9  
verticals within the  
justification all ruled  
faintly in ink.



recto of Calendar

2 scored outer verticals,  
3 inner verticals ruled  
lightly in ink by the scribe  
when writing, 19 horizontals  
ruled in faint grey ink.



recto of text

2 columns of 20 lines of text on 21 horizontals ruled in pale grey/brown ink between 4 verticals which usually appear scored. Sometimes the verticals are partially grey as though scored with a metalpoint and sometimes the lowest part of the vertical is brown as though the point had been dipped in ink.

### Prickings

The prickings for the verticals are several times visible in the upper margin as vertical slits cut from the recto. From the position of the holes it seems possible that a whole, folded gathering was pricked at once (gatherings 32-39 and 40-48).

Occasionally, particularly frequent until f.111, a single horizontal cut occurs in the outer margin, level with the ninth horizontal on a text page, the sixth on a calendar page.

### Script

Littera formata in black ink for the text, red for the rubrics, see pp.8-14.

### Parchment

The parchment varies in thickness but is usually quite pliable. The flesh side is whiter than the hair side

which has sometimes yellowed. A large open grain of follicles and some black specks are visible on both sides. Folio 450 is repaired to replace a cut lower margin.

### Composition

59 gatherings as follows:

1<sup>3</sup>(1-3+stub), 2<sup>2</sup>(4-5), 3<sup>4</sup>(6-9), 4<sup>8</sup>(10-17), 5<sup>6</sup>(18-23),  
6<sup>8</sup>(24-31), 7<sup>8</sup>(32-39), 8<sup>8</sup>(40-47), 9<sup>8</sup>(48-55), 10<sup>8</sup>(56-63),  
11<sup>8</sup>(64-71), 12<sup>8</sup>(72-79), 13<sup>8</sup>(80-87), 14<sup>8</sup>88-95),  
15<sup>8</sup>(96-103), 16<sup>8</sup>(104-111), 17<sup>2</sup>(112-113), 18<sup>9</sup>(114-122  
+ a stub which joins 114), 19<sup>8</sup>(123-130), 20<sup>8</sup>(131-138),  
21<sup>8</sup>(139-146), 22<sup>8</sup>(147-154), 23<sup>8</sup>(155-162), 24<sup>8</sup>(163-170),  
25<sup>8</sup>(171-178), 26<sup>8</sup>(179-186), 27<sup>8</sup>(187-194), 28<sup>8</sup>(195-202),  
29<sup>8</sup>(203-210), 30<sup>8</sup>(211-218), 31<sup>8</sup>(219-226), 32<sup>8</sup>(227-234),  
33<sup>8</sup>(235-242), 34<sup>8</sup>(243-250), 35<sup>8</sup>(251-258), 36<sup>8</sup>(259-266),  
37<sup>8</sup>(267-274), 38<sup>8</sup>(275-282), 39<sup>8</sup>(283-290), 40<sup>8</sup>(291-298),  
41<sup>8</sup>(299-306), 42<sup>8</sup>(307-314), 43<sup>8</sup>(315-322), 44<sup>8</sup>(323-330),  
45<sup>8</sup>(331-338), 46<sup>8</sup>(339-346), 47<sup>8</sup>(347-354), 48<sup>8</sup>(355-362),  
49<sup>8</sup>(363-370), 50<sup>8</sup>(371-378), 51<sup>8</sup>(379-386), 52<sup>8</sup>(387-394),  
53<sup>8</sup>(395-402), 54<sup>8</sup>(403-410), 55<sup>8</sup>(411-418), 56<sup>8</sup>(419-426),  
57<sup>8</sup>(427-434), 58<sup>8</sup>(435-442), 59<sup>8</sup>(443-450).

Strings are visible between the central two folios of each gathering except for gatherings 2, 17 and 48.

### Catchwords

These are placed in the centre of the bottom margin of the last verso of each gathering except for the tables and Calendar preceding the text (gatherings 1-5) and the following gatherings: 17, 21, 22, 23, 33, 34, 47, 48 and 59, the final gathering.



Signatures

None remain.

Provenance

This manuscript was made for Bertrando de' Rossi di Parma, whose arms, azure, a lion rampant argent, appear on f.383v. The helmet with a swan's neck crest within the initial 'D' on f.58 is also part of his armorial bearings. His monogram 'BE' appears on f.58 and f.115v. and f.410v. The two emblems within many borders must also be his eg. f.335. By the sixteenth century the book must have been in France and was owned by Julien and Anne Regin whose bearings appear on ff.4 and 9v. respectively. Anne Regin was protonotary apostolic and precentor of the Cathedral of Clermont from 1528. The Regin arms, azure, a pomegranate or crowned or are painted over the Rossi arms except on f.383v. The manuscript entered the French royal collection between 1682 and 1707.

Decoration and illustration (ills 1-65)

Innumerable one-line-high painted initials of burnished gold against a ground of blue and dark pink are used as capitals throughout the text. Each prayer, hymn, etc. opens with a painted foliate initial two lines high and each new devotion opens with a painted or historiated initial five lines high with a full-page border. There are 136 of these. Seventy-two full-page miniatures

illustrate the devotions. For a full description and discussion of the illumination of this manuscript see pp.17-25 and Chapter 2.

#### Bibliography

See Dix siècles..., 1984, p.98.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 7323

### Contents

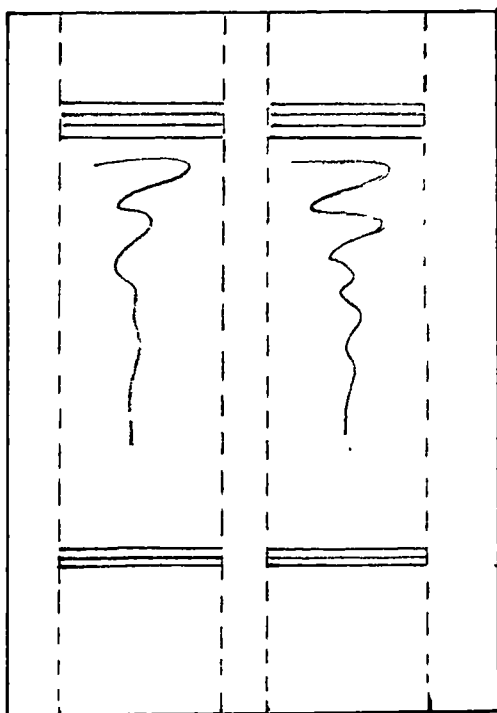
1 + 42ff. + 1

ff.1-42, Liber iudiciorum et consiliorum of Alfodhol  
da Merengi.

### Measurements

Approximately, 455mm x 320mm with a text justification  
of 295mm x 240mm.

### Rulings



4 verticals usually scored  
but sometimes brown, 61  
horizontals in pale, greyish  
ink for 2 columns of 60  
lines of text

### Prickings

Small slits for the verticals sometimes remain.

### Script

Littera formata in black ink. Column headings and  
numerals in the border are alternately red and blue.

### Parchment

The flesh side is white and the hair side is marked  
with brown follicles of varying density and open grain.

Composition

1<sup>0</sup>(1-10), 2<sup>8</sup>(11-18), 3<sup>8</sup>(19-26), 4<sup>8</sup>(27-34), 5<sup>8</sup>(35-42).

Catchwords

None

Signatures

On ff.35 and 36, ei and eii are legible in the lower right corner.

Provenance

On f.1 the Visconti arms are painted in the lower margin and on f.5 a spotted beast lying in flames with a helmet with the viper crest, holds a motto 'soufrir m'estuet mgoten xach'. This emblem appears on the tomb of Bernabò Visconti and it is likely therefore that the manuscript was made for him. This manuscript was item 203 of the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library in the Castello di Pavia.

Decoration and illustration

On ff.1 and 5, where the introductions to Alfodhol's text are written in gold letters between decorative lines of violet and red there are full-page borders. These comprise a capital 'I' against a gold ground, longer than the text justification, and acanthus leaves which curl around to make a full border. These leaves are pink, red, green and blue, all shaded with a darker tone and with white lines and decoration. The white decoration is often of involved and intricate forms. There are large, painted foliate initials on ff.1, 5

and 5v. This is the only painted decoration in the book but from ff.7-42v. each page is headed with a drawing of the sign of the zodiac relevant for the table beneath: ff.7-9v. Aries; 10-12v., Taurus; 13-15v., Gemini; 16-18v., Cancer; 19-21v., Leo; 22-24v., Virgo; 25-27v., Libra; 28-30v., Scorpio; 31-33v., Sagittarius; 34-36v., Capricorn; 37-39v., Aquarius; 40-42v., Pisces.

These are, on the whole, simple ink outlines although some have metalpoint details marked within the ink contour, for example the musculature of Gemini and the fleece of Aries, each sign has its name written in a small cursive script, usually within the area of the figure.

The signs of Leo and Virgo are very close to figures found in fr.343 and may be the work of the same designer. See Ch.3, n.41.

### Bibliography

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.118-119.

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, p.28, pl.194-95.

Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', p.67 and figs 117, 118 and 119.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 8042

### Contents

3 + 116ff.

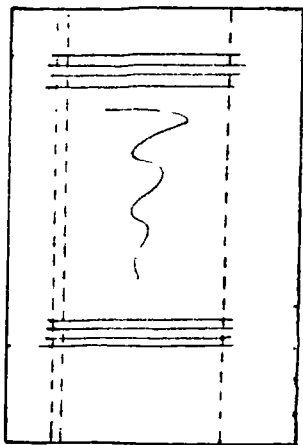
ff.1-115 Lucan, De Bello Civile

f.116 blank r. and v. but for an erased ex-libris  
starting 'Ist...' on f.116v.

### Measurements

Approximately 280mm x 190mm with a text justification  
of 190mm x 110mm.

### Rulings



3 verticals which usually  
appear only as scored lines,  
but sometimes as a grey  
line and sometimes brown at  
the bottom. . 35 lines of  
text on 36 horizontals of  
pale yellowish ink.

### Prickings

Vertical slits are occasionally visible at the top or  
bottom edge.

### Script

Littera formata in brown ink. Red rubrics and paragraph  
marks.

Parchment

The flesh sides are smooth but hair sides are variably marked with brown follicles and open grain.

Composition

1<sup>8</sup>(1-8), 2<sup>8</sup>(9-16), 3<sup>8</sup>(17-24), 4<sup>8</sup>(25-32), 5<sup>8</sup>(33-40),  
6<sup>8</sup>(41-48), 7<sup>8</sup>(49-56), 8<sup>8</sup>(57-64), 9<sup>8</sup>(65-72), 10<sup>8</sup>(73-80),  
11<sup>8</sup>(81-88), 12<sup>8</sup>(89-96), 13<sup>8</sup>(97-104), 14<sup>8</sup>(105-112),  
15<sup>2</sup>(113-114), 16<sup>2</sup>(115-116).

Catchwords

These are in the centre of the bottom margin of the last verso of each gathering until f.112v. and reappear as the first word on the next recto.

Signatures

None remain.

Provenance

Erased ex-libris on f.116v. This manuscript may have been item 46 of the 1426 inventory of the Visconti library at Pavia.

Decoration and illustration

Each book opens with an historiated initial between eight and sixteen lines high, ff.1, 11, 21v., 32v., 44, 56, 68, 80v., 92v. and 108. Folio 1 is the only initial to have a burnished gold ground although all have spiked gold disks in the margin. The other initials are made of pink staves against azurite grounds, both with white pen-work decoration making

loose flourishes and grids. There are pale yellow grounds behind half-length figures in the initials. All initial terminals are of acanthus leaves of red, blue, pink or green and extend into the margin and on f.1 they form a full border. These leaves are modelled with a darker pigment applied to the blue and green and a darker glaze to the red and pink. One edge of the leaf has a white line following its contour and there is white decoration, most commonly a circle surrounded by four dots.

The figure style is mediocre and not highly finished, all details and contours are drawn in a brown ink and their washes of colour are haphazardly applied leaving much of the parchment bare.

This painting is very close to that of London, B.L., Harley 2532, B.N. Latin 8043 and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Canon. Class. Latin 68.

#### Bibliography

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.82.

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, p.6 and pl.42.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, p.76.



Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 8043

### Contents

l + 128ff.

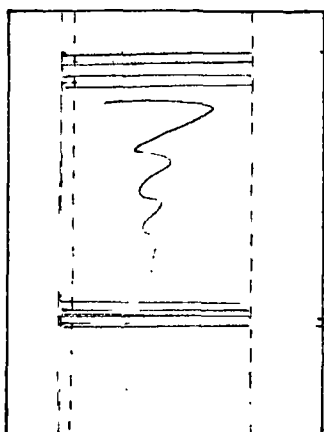
ff.1-127v. Lucan, De Bello Civile

f.128r. and v. blank but for traces of an erased ex-libris

### Measurements

Approximately, 275mm x 205mm with a text justification of 180mm x 120mm.

### Rulings



3 verticals usually scored sometimes with brown or grey. 32 lines of text on 32 horizontals of faint, yellow-brown ink.

### Prickings

Short slits for the outer verticals are usually visible at the bottom of each folio.

### Script

Littera formata in dark brown to black ink, with red rubrics and paragraph marks.

### Parchment

The hair side of the parchment has a varied texture and markings.

Composition

1<sup>r</sup> (1-8), 2<sup>s</sup> (9-16), 3<sup>s</sup> (17-24), 4<sup>s</sup> (25-32), 5<sup>s</sup> (33-40),  
 6<sup>s</sup> (41-48), 7<sup>s</sup> (49-56), 8<sup>s</sup> (57-64), 9<sup>s</sup> (65-72), 10<sup>s</sup> (73-80),  
 11<sup>s</sup> (81-88), 12<sup>s</sup> (89-96), 13<sup>s</sup> (97-104), 14<sup>s</sup> (105-112),  
 15<sup>s</sup> (113-120), 16<sup>s</sup> (121-128).

Catchwords

These are placed in the centre of the bottom margin of the final verso of each gathering and all appear as the first word of the following recto.

Signatures

There are traces of cut signature marks in the bottom right corner of the first four rectos of a gathering, for example 'h' on f.60.

Provenance

Item 27 of the 1426 inventory of the library in the Castello di Pavia. Taken by Louis XII in 1499 to the royal library at Blois: f.127v. 'de Pavye au roy Loys XII<sup>o</sup>'.

Decoration and illustration

The opening of each book is marked with an historiated or painted foliate initial between four and thirteen lines high, ff.1, 11v. 28v., 35v., 48, 61, 74, 87v. 101v. and 119. All these initials have a burnished gold ground and spiked gold disks in the margins.

Initial staves are pink, except for that on f.119 which is pale blue, with white flourish decoration. The infills are pink, blue or green with lines of a darker

glaze and white to make a patterned grid. Half-length figures are placed against this background except for ff.11v., 48, 74 and 87v. which are either foliate letters 'I' or 'S'. The terminals of acanthus leaves extend into the margin and are pink, orange-red, dull-green and mid-blue, all modelled with a darker glaze. Where it was not glazed the orange lead has oxidised. There are white lines at one edge and pen-work decoration of lines, dots, circles, grids, etc. upon each leaf-shape. Only on f.1 do these forms make a full border. Gold kite-shapes and coloured flowers are painted in the borders. This is one of the features not found in the other manuscripts of this group: London, B.L., Harley 2532; Madrid, Bib. Nac. ms.601; Paris, B.N. Latin 8042 and Oxford, Canon. Class. Latin 68. This manuscript also shows a greater concern with modelling faces and figures: more pigment is used and there are white highlights. These are, however, still very roughly applied.

In all these manuscripts the border forms are more carefully executed than the figural elements. It is with the foliage forms of the Latin 757 group, especially those of fr.343, that there is a general similarity in style. Many of the details of finish and decoration are identical. It seems possible that these manuscripts were painted by an artist or artists who had only worked upon borders in the more prestigious manuscripts.

Bibliography

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, p.79.

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969,  
p.6, pl.43.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, p.76.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Latin 8045

### Contents

2 paper + 284ff. + 2 paper

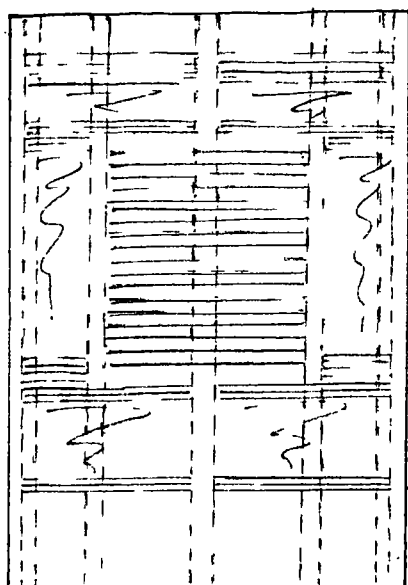
ff.1-273v. Lucan, De Bello Civile with the commentary  
of Zonii Florentini. (foliation repeats 260-269).

f.274 Map of the World

### Measurements

Approximately, 375mm x 260mm with a text justification  
of 285mm x 230mm.

### Rulings



10 verticals are scored  
and occasionally have grey  
or brown marks. The  
horizontals are ruled in  
brown ink, there are two  
lines of gloss to each line  
of text. There are up to 17  
lines of central text on 18  
ruled lines and 71 lines of  
gloss on 72 ruled lines

### Prickings

Small slits are visible for the outer two verticals  
and the three inner parts. On some folios, for example  
f.51, 2 rows of pricking are visible in the outer  
margin, nine on the outer edge which relate to the  
gloss and three for the central text.

Script

Littera formata in dark brown or black ink.

Parchment

The flesh sides are smooth and white but the hair sides are variable often with dark follicles of varying density.

Composition

1<sup>q</sup>(1-10), f.1 stuck to f.2 no folio numbered 3,  
 2<sup>8</sup>(11-18), 3<sup>8</sup>(19-26), 4<sup>8</sup>(27-34), 5<sup>8</sup>(35-42), 6<sup>8</sup>(43-50),  
 7<sup>8</sup>(51-58), 8<sup>8</sup>(59-66), 9<sup>8</sup>(67-74), 10<sup>8</sup>(75-82), 11<sup>8</sup>(83-90),  
 12<sup>8</sup>(91-98), 13<sup>8</sup>(99-106), 14<sup>8</sup>(107-114), 15<sup>8</sup>(115-122),  
 16<sup>8</sup>(123-130), 17<sup>8</sup>(131-138), 18<sup>8</sup>(139-146), 19<sup>8</sup>(147-154),  
 20<sup>8</sup>(155-162), 21<sup>8</sup>(163-170), 22<sup>8</sup>(171-178), 23<sup>8</sup>(179-186),  
 24<sup>8</sup>(187-194), 25<sup>8</sup>(195-202), 26<sup>8</sup>(203-210), 27<sup>8</sup>(211-218),  
 28<sup>8</sup>(219-226), 29<sup>8</sup>(227-234), 30<sup>8</sup>(235-242), 31<sup>8</sup>(243-250),  
 32<sup>8</sup>(251-258), 33<sup>8</sup>(259-266), 34<sup>8</sup>(267-264), 35<sup>8</sup>(265-272),  
 36<sup>2</sup>(273-4). The foliation repeats ff.260-269.

Catchwords

These are usually in the middle of the bottom margin of the last verso but on f.10v. it is underneath the text of Lucan rather than the gloss. They are all repeated as the first word of the next recto.

Signatures

Visible, but usually cut, in the bottom right corner of the first four rectos of a gathering eg. f.11, bi.

### Provenance

Badly abraded arms of the first owner on f.2 seem once to have been party gules and azure, ten bezants or. These arms have not been identified. This manuscript was probably item 932 of the 1426 inventory of the library in the Castelb di Pavia.

### Decoration and illustration

There are red and blue paragraph marks throughout the text and gloss and occasional four-line-high initials with staves of blue or red with contrasting pen-work flourishes of red or lilac. There are painted initials on ff.1, 1v., 2, 30, 55, 77v., 104, 130v., 159v., 189, 219, 247v. and 255v., that on f.1 and two on f.2 (ill. 112) with figures.

The Map of the World on f.274 is a simple geometric diagram. The painting on f.2 approaches the style of Latin 757. Although the initials and sprays throughout the manuscript are of differing foliage types, there are so many similarities from one to another that it seems possible that they are all painted by the same hand. Perhaps Iohannes de Castagno who signed f.2. Some of the decorative details are the same as those in Latin 8043. It is possible that this manuscript was painted by an illuminator who had worked on a manuscript painted in the style of Latin 757. However, the departure from some of the characteristics of the style of decoration in the central manuscripts make it unlikely that Iohannes de Castagno had an important

or designing role in the more lavish, and accomplished, manuscripts. For a further description and discussion of this manuscript see pp.113-116.

Bibliography

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque..., 1955, pp.279-80.

Pellegrin, La Bibliothèque...Supplément, 1969, p.5.

Quazza, 'Miniature lombarde...', 1965, p.67.

Treuherz, 'The border decoration...', 1972, p.72.



Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouvelles acquisitions  
françaises 5243

### Contents

2 paper + 92ff. + 1 paper

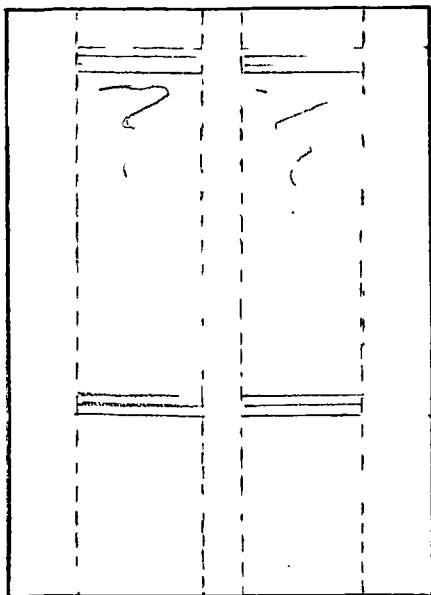
ff.1-92 fragments of Guiron le Courtois

1 blank column on f.64v. and a note 'Ci ma(n)che'

### Measurements

Approximately, 380mm x 275mm with a ruled text  
justification of 240mm x 190mm.

### Rulings



4 scored verticals which  
occasionally show grey.  
40 horizontals in yellow-  
brown ink for 39 lines of  
text, after f.3v. only 37  
lines of text.

### Prickings

There are slightly oblique cuts for the verticals at  
the top edge and up to 40mm up from the bottom edge.

### Script

Littera bastarda in brown ink. There is a change in  
scribal hand after f.79.

Parchment

Variable, rather worn and with a rough hair side.

Composition

This manuscript is made up of bifolios which are the fragments of fifteen quaternions, which must have been intact when the seventeenth century foliation was written in the top right hand corners, plus an intact quaternion and ternion. These last gatherings have a different, later foliation in red. The diagrams show what seems to be the current collation of the manuscript with both the modern and old foliations.

1 (1-2)

. .  
 . .  
 2 ——— 7  
 . .

2 (3-8)

. .  
 11 ——— 14  
 10 ——— 15  
 9 ——— 16

3 (9-12)

20 ——— 21  
 . .  
 18 ——— 23  
 . .

4 (13-16)

. .  
 27 ——— 30  
 . .  
 25 ——— 32

5 (17-18)

. .  
 . .  
 ? ——— ?  
 . .

6 (19-24)

. .  
 43 ——— 46  
 42 ——— 47  
 41 ——— 48

7 (25-30)

52 ——— 53  
 51 ——— 54  
 50 ——— 55  
 . .

8 (31-37)

60 ——— 61  
 ——— 62  
 58 ——— 63  
 57 ——— 64

9 (38-43)

. .  
 67 ——— 70  
 66 ——— 71  
 65 ——— 72

10 (44-50)

76 ——— 77  
 ——— 78  
 74 ——— 79  
 73 ——— 80

11 (51-54)

. ?  
 83 ——— 85  
 . .  
 81 ——— 87

12 (55-60)

. .  
 91 ——— 94  
 90 ——— 95  
 89 ——— 96

13 (61-68)	14 (69-72)	15 (73-78)
100 ——— 101		116 ——— 117
99 ——— 102	107 ——— 110	
98 ——— 103	106 ——— 111	114 ——— 119
97 ——— 104		113 ——— 120
16 (79-86)	17 (87-92)	
124 ——— 125	131 ——— 132	
123 ——— 126	130 ——— 133	
122 ——— 127	129 ——— 134	
121 ——— 128		

### Catchwords

Where these survive they are written below the right hand column of text on the final verso of a gathering.

### Signatures

Where the first folio of a gathering survives its number, unless cut, is written out at the top left of the recto, f.3 secundus, f.19 sextus, f.38 nonus, f.44 decimus, f.57 undecim, f.44 duodecim, f.61 tertiusdecim.

### Provenance

A flourish initial on f.46v. contains the arms and monogram of Bernabò Visconti. It seems likely that this manuscript was made for him. It was bought by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1891.

### Decoration and illustration (ills 162-177)

Each paragraph begins with an initial three lines high of red or blue with contrasting flourishes of lilac or red. The lilac flourishes sometimes have some red touches. These flourish initials are very fine and

extend into the side or central margins. The main text divisions open with a painted foliate initial on a burnished gold ground, ff.38, 39, 43, 70v., 76. The illustrations are all in the lower margins of the folios. Some elements, trees, buildings or lances may extend into the side and centre margins but only on ff.7 and 55 did the scribe leave a larger than usual area free of text. There are illustrations on the following folios, lv., 2, 2v., 3, 3v., 4, 6, 6v., 7, 7v., 8, 8v., 10, 10v., 11, 14, 14v., 15, 16, 17, 17v., 18, 18v., 19, 19v., 20, 22, 24, 24v., 25, 25v., 26, 26v., 28v., 29, 30v., 31, 31v., 32, 32v., 33, 33v., 34, 36, 38, 38v., 39, 39v., 40, 40v., 42, 42v., 43, 43v., 44, 44v., 45, 45v., 46, 46v., 47, 47v., 48, 48v., 49, 49v., 50, 51, 52, 52v., 53, 53v., 54, 54v., 55, 62v., 63, 63v., 65, 65v., 66, 66v., 67, 67v., 68, 68v., 69, 69v., 70, 70v., 71v., 72, 72v., 73, 73v., 74, 74v., 75, 76, 76v., 77v., 78, 87, 87v., 88v., 90, 90v., 91v., and 92v.

The painted finish of the illustrations is very varied, some illustrations, for example on ff.lv., 2, 2v., 15, 18, 18v. and 30, have very little pigment applied and what touches of colour there are seem a rather clumsy and insensitive treatment of very careful and delicate drawing (ills 162 and 165). Some of the finest painting is within the second and third gatherings, which seem to be painted in a uniform style (ill. 163) and in the sixth gathering which is painted in a different but very attractive manner (ills 167 and 168).

In the early folios care is taken to show the same man always wearing the same patterned doublet, for example Arthur with his tunic half of the yellow fabric with eyes and half of lilac with crowns. Elsewhere in the manuscript the drawn patterns are ignored and costumes are coloured inconsistently. It seems possible that the manuscript was only partly painted during the original campaign and that some of the painting may be a later modification. In comparison the only illustrations which can be linked in style with these, those of another Guiron le Courtois in a private collection, published by Lathuillière, Guiron le Courtois..., 1966, pp.89-90, appear to be monochrome.

A few of the illustrations, ff.49r. and v. and 50, are very close in colouring and technique to the miniatures in the style of Latin 757 in the Tacuinum Sanitatis, B.N. n.a.lat.1673.

For a discussion of the illumination of the Guiron see pp. 164-170.

#### Bibliography

See Dix siècles..., 1984, p.95.

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, nouvelles acquisitions  
latines 1673

Contents

1 + 103ff.

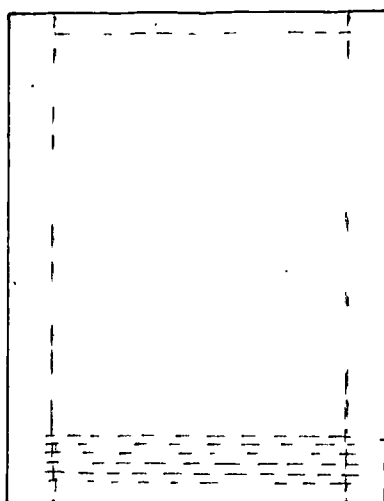
ff.1-103 Tacuinum Sanitatis the Latin translation of the  
health treatise of Ibn Butlan

Substances, activities and conditions as they  
affect man's health are listed and illustrated  
as follows ff.lv.-82v. comestibles, ff.83-85 flowers,  
basil and mandragora, 85v.-103v. human activities,  
conditions, weather and waters.

Measurements

Approximately, 320mm x 245mm with illustrations which  
vary in size, but are usually approximately 250mm x 190mm.

Rulings



All rulings appear faint,  
usually only scored.

5 horizontals ruled below  
the illustration although  
the text may only be 3  
lines long.

Prickings

Occasionally slits for the verticals are visible on  
the top edge of the folio.

Script

Littera formata in brown ink, with rubrics and titles in red. The title is usually set within the field of the illustration and the text seems to be written after the folio was painted.

Parchment

This is very stiff and dirty. The hair sides are rather yellow and have a dense pattern of follicle marks. Up to f.22 all folios have holes burnt (?) through them, now repaired.

Composition

1<sup>8</sup> (1-8), 2<sup>8</sup> (9-16), 3<sup>8</sup> (17-24), 4<sup>8</sup> (25-32), 5<sup>8</sup> (33-40), 6<sup>8</sup> (41-48), 7<sup>8</sup> (49-56), 8<sup>8</sup> (57-64), 9<sup>8</sup> (65-72), 10<sup>8</sup> (73-80), 11<sup>8</sup> (81-88), 12<sup>8</sup> (89-96), 13<sup>7</sup> (97-103, f.97 is on a stub which is glued to 103).

Catchwords

None.

Signatures

One remains on f.82, lii. This would correspond to its present position in the manuscript if each gathering was given a letter of the alphabet. There are traces of an early foliation, now cut, at the top and bottom in the centre of some folios.

Provenance

On f.1 an inscription in fifteenth century German 'Das puech ist gewest Erzherzog Leopolt Kayser Fridrichs

Enne Hawsfrau Herzog Warnabe von Mailanndt tochter', presumably refers to Verde Visconti daughter of Bernabò. Glosses to the text in Czech and a note in Arabic to the effect that the book was once purchased in Smyrna show it to have been widely travelled. It was bought by the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1891.

#### Decoration and illustration (ills 110 and 111)

Apart from the portrait of the author on f.1 each folio is painted with a large and lively scene showing the subject as it is used or gathered. Usually the illustration is framed with a red border but occasionally it may be pink. There is no border on f.52. The illustrations are painted by several illuminators of unequal skill, amongst the finest are eight painted in the style of Latin 757. These are on both sides of four bifolios: f.65, 65v., 67, 67v., 70, 70v., 72, 72v. See pp.110-113.

#### Bibliography

See Dix siècles..., 1984, pp.100-01.



Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Smith-Lesouëf 22

### Contents

1 paper + 384ff. parchment + 1 paper.

Seven folios are unfoliated and inserted between f.14v. and f.15.

No folio in either new or old foliation is numbered 121.

The final three folios of the final gathering are unfoliated blanks.

### folio(s)

- |            |  |
|------------|--|
| 1-2v.      | Table for computing Easter 1380-1499   |
| 3-14v.     | Calendar   |
| unfoliated | gathering of 7, 1-4 contents list, 4v.-7v. blanks.   |
| 15         | Miniature of donor presented to the Virgin and Child by Saints Catherine, Christopher and Anthony Abbot.   |
| 15v.-60v.  | Office of the Virgin according to the use of Rome with miniatures of the Passion on ff.24, 34v., 38v., 41v., 45, 48v. and 57. Miniatures below the text on ff.38, Mocking of Christ, 44v., Adoration of the Magi, 56v., Annunciation to the Shepherds. |
| 61-83v.    | Propers for the Office of the Virgin including 'O Intemerata...' ff.79v.-81v. and 'Te deum...' f.82v. with full-page miniatures ff.61, 61v. and 79 and a miniature above the text on f.62.   |

84	Miniature of the Annunciation
84v.-88v.	Seven Joys of the Virgin
89	Miniature of the Expulsion from Paradise
89v.-118	Abbreviated Hours of the Days of the Week
120-151	Masses for the Days of the Week
151v.-168	Ordinary of the Mass according to the use of Rome
168v.	Crucifixion whith the Virgin and John the Evangelist
169-178	Canon of the Mass
178v.-212	Masses for the feasts of the Nativity, Epiphany, Resurrection, Purification of the Virgin, Annunciation, Assumption, St Anthony, Catherine, James, Mary Magdalene, with a miniature below the text on f.212 of the woman drying Christ's feet with her hair
213	Miniature of St Ambrose baptising St Augustine
213v.-217	'Dulcissime yhu xpe domine verus deus...'
217v.-222v.	Psalms
223	Miniature of Dead man on a Bier
223v.-264	Office of the Dead
265-275	Seven Penitential Psalms
275-284v.	Litany
285v.	Miniature of couple presented to the Man of Sorrows by Saints Anthony and Catherine

286-346v.        Extracts from the Gospels on the  
                   Passion of Christ, including two inserted  
                   folios with full-page miniatures, f.295  
                   Agony in the Garden and f.296 Betrayal  
 349-375        Benedictions and Exorcisms preceded by  
                   a full-page miniature of the Baptism of  
                   Christ on f.348v.

Blank folios: 4v., 5 and 5v., 6 and 6v., 7 and 7v., of  
                   the unfoliated third gathering. 118v.,  
                   119, 212v., 213v., 264v., 285, 295v.,  
                   296v., 347, 347v., 348, 353v., 359v., and  
                   three unfoliated folios blank recto and  
                   verso after f.375.

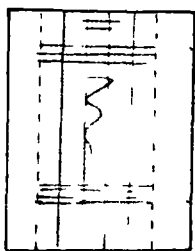
This foliation refers to the arabic numerals at the  
 top right of each recto, the earlier roman foliation,  
 in the centre of the upper margin is largely the same.  
 There are minor errors in both.

#### Measurements

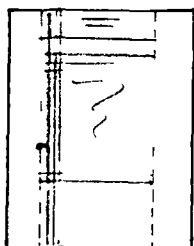
Approximately, 155mm x 120mm with a text justification  
 of 100mm x 75mm, full-page miniatures of the first  
 campaign of painting are approximately 90mm wide and  
 between 120 and 130mm tall.

#### Rulings

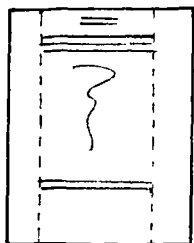
All folios except the seven unfoliated folios carrying  
 the contents list, have two short horizontals to hold  
 the roman foliation.



recto of Easter  
table



recto of Calendar



recto of text

ff.1-2v. These folios are part of the gathering containing the Calendar and were ruled as for the Calendar with 2 scored outer verticals and 17 horizontals in faint ink. They were adjusted to hold the 'ratio pasce', presumably by the scribe, by the addition of 4 inked verticals and 2 horizontals below the original text justification.

ff.3-14v. 2 scored outer verticals and 17 faint horizontals: 14 horizontals for the days, 3 for the initial and number of days. 3 additional verticals in ink, to contain Golden Numbers, week-day letters and the nones, ides or kalends entries appropriate to each day.

2 scored verticals, usually barely visible with 16 horizontals ruled in faint ink.

### Prickings

Generally the only prickings visible are those in the outer margins for the two horizontals which contain the roman foliation. Otherwise prickings are only visible for the two verticals for folios from 279 to the end of the manuscript and the gathering with the contents list.

### Script

A regular littera formata in black or dark brown ink with red rubrics. See pp.83-85.

### Parchment

This is relatively fine, smooth and supple, compared with the parchment of most Lombard manuscripts. The hair side is slightly yellower than the flesh side and has an open grain but no follicle marks.

### Composition

Fifty-four gatherings as follows:-

1<sup>8</sup>(1-8), 2<sup>6</sup>(9-14), 3<sup>7</sup>(unfoliated, 3 bifolios plus a central folio and stub), 4<sup>4</sup>(15-18), 5<sup>8</sup>(19-26), 6<sup>8</sup>(27-34), 7<sup>8</sup>(35-42), 8<sup>2</sup>43-44), 9<sup>4</sup>(45-48), 10<sup>8</sup>(49-56), 11<sup>4</sup>(57-60), 12<sup>4</sup>(61-64, 61 joined onto 64), 13<sup>8</sup>(65-72), 14<sup>8</sup>(73-80), 15<sup>8</sup>(81-88), 16<sup>8</sup>(89-96), 17<sup>8</sup>(97-104), 18<sup>8</sup>(105-112), 19<sup>7</sup>(113-119, 114 with a stub), 20<sup>8</sup>(120-128, no folio is numbered 121), 21<sup>8</sup>(129-136), 22<sup>8</sup>(137-144), 23<sup>8</sup>(145-152), 24<sup>8</sup>(153-160), 25<sup>8</sup>(161-168), 26<sup>8</sup>(169-176), 27<sup>8</sup>(177-184), 28<sup>8</sup>(185-192), 29<sup>8</sup>(193-200), 30<sup>8</sup>(201-208), 31<sup>4</sup>(209-212), 32<sup>4</sup>(213-216), 33<sup>6</sup>(217-222), 34<sup>8</sup>(223-230), 35<sup>8</sup>(231-238), 36<sup>8</sup>(239-246), 37<sup>8</sup>(247-254), 38<sup>8</sup>(255-262), 39<sup>8</sup>(263-270),

40<sup>8</sup>(271-278), 41<sup>8</sup>(279-286), 42<sup>8</sup>(287-294), 43<sup>2</sup>(295-296, stuck together), 44<sup>8</sup>(297-304), 45<sup>8</sup>(305-312), 46<sup>8</sup>(313-320), 47<sup>8</sup>(321-328), 48<sup>8</sup>(329-336), 49<sup>8</sup>(337-344), 50<sup>4</sup>(345-348), 51<sup>8</sup>(349-356), 52<sup>8</sup>(357-364), 53<sup>8</sup>(365-372), 54<sup>6</sup>(373-375 plus three blank folios).

### Catchwords

These are placed in the centre of the lower margin of the last verso of all gatherings except 1, 2, 3, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 19, 25, 31, 33, 43, 50 and 54. In the case of gatherings 6, 8, 9, 10 and 25 the final verso carries a miniature, and it seems for this reason rather than a division of labour that there is no catchword. Gatherings 19 and 50 have miniatures on their final versos but after blanks. Gathering 43 is inserted and interrupts the catchword at the end of gathering 42 and its repetition at the opening of gathering 44. Gatherings 11, 31, and 33 face full-page miniatures on the first rectos of the subsequent gatherings.

### Signatures

Cut signature marks remain in the lower right corner of the first four rectos of some gatherings. These seem to have been of the customary type of a letter of the alphabet followed by a roman numeral.

### Provenance

This manuscript contains the arms, f.15v., and the emblems of Bertrando de' Rossi di Parma. The kneeling

man on f.285v. has on his doublet an emblem of two interlocked hearts and a monogram made up of the superimposed letters P.M.R. These were imprese of Pier Maria Rossi, Bertrando's grandson. He was presumably responsible for having the illumination of the manuscript completed. The manuscript was part of the Smith-Lesouëf donation to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1913.

#### Decoration and illustration (ills 66-81)

One-line-high initials of gold or blue with contrasting flourishes of lilac or red are used throughout the text and for the foliation in roman numerals in the centre of the upper margin of each recto. Each text element, hymn, prayer etc. opens with a two-line-high initial with sprays into the margin. Each new devotion opens with a historiated initial usually either five or six lines high with a full border, ff.15v., 24v., 35, 39, 42, 45v., 49, 57v., 89v., 92, 95, 100v., 103, 104, 106v., 109, 112, 115, 169, 224, 265. There are full-page miniatures on ff.15, 24, 34v., 38v., 41v., 45, 48v., 57, 61, 61v., 79, 84, 89, 119v., 168v., 213, 223, 285v., 295, 296, 348v., 359 and part-page miniatures on ff.38, 44v., 56v., 62 and 212.

There were two campaigns of painting to complete this manuscript. For a description and discussion of this illumination see pp.77-95.

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See Dix siècles..., 1984, p.99

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